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*1796 the spring when the birds are mating, or in the summer when the birds are nesting and caring for their young, or in the fall when the birds are flocking, but not in the winter when all things are asleep. With the Hako we are praying for the gift of life, of strength, of [789] plenty, and of peace, so we must pray when life is stirring everywhere."

SCHEME OF THE CEREMONY

According to the Ku'rahus, no change in the order of rites or songs was permitted. The reason for this requirement becomes clear when we study the ceremony itself. Its fundamental ideas and teachings, which are among the most important for the welfare of the people, are steadily unfolded from the initial rite to the final act through a long series of observances which are replete with detail and accompanied by nearly one hundred songs, yet all these different parts are so closely articulated that any variation of relationship or any omission would be disastrous to the structure.

The Hako consists of the Preparation and the Ceremony.

The Preparation

First division. Initial rites.
- First ritual. Making the Hako:
  - Part I. Invoking the powers.
  - Part II. Preparing the feathered stems.
  - Part III. Painting the ear of corn and preparing the other sacred objects.
  - Part IV. Offering of smoke.
- Second ritual. Prefiguring the journey to the Sun.
- Third ritual. Sending the messengers.
- Fourth ritual:
  - Part I. Vivifying the sacred objects.
  - Part II. Mother Corn assumes leadership.
  - Part III. The Hako party presented to the Powers.

Second division. The journey.
- Fifth ritual:
  - Part I. Mother Corn asserts authority.
  - Part II. Songs and ceremonies of the way.
  - Part III. Mother Corn reasserts leadership.

Third division. Entering the village of the Sun and consecrating his lodge.
- Sixth ritual:
  - Part I. The Sun's messenger received.
  - Part II. The Hako party enter the village.
- Seventh ritual:
  - Part I. Touching and crossing the threshold.
  - Part II. Consecrating the lodge.
  - Part III. Clothing the Sun and offering smoke.

The Ceremony

First division. The public ceremony.
- Eighth ritual (first day). The Fathers feed the Children.
- Ninth ritual (first night). Invoking the visions.
- Tenth ritual. The Dawn:
  - Part I. The birth of Dawn.
  - Part II. The Morning Star and the new-born Dawn.

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THE HAKO

THE PREPARATION

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 [782] The ceremony of the Hako is a prayer for children, in order that the tribe may increase and be strong; and also that the people may have long life, enjoy plenty, and be happy and at peace.

The articles that are used in the ceremony can be prepared only under the direction and supervision of a man who has been taught the sacred songs in their sequence and instructed as to their meaning. Such a man is called Ku'rahus, which means a man of years, venerated for his knowledge and experience.

When a man intends to inaugurate a party for the performance of this ceremony, he selects a Ku'rahus to have complete charge of it, and fixes a day when the preliminary rites are to be performed. On [783] that day the Ku'rahus goes into the sweat lodge and there purifies himself. When he has come out of the sweat bath and has cooled off a little, he places sweet grass on a small pile of coals. Then he sits [516] down (on his heels) and draws a robe about himself and the coals, so that the smoke of the sweet grass may reach every part of his body. He then takes a bit of fat which has been preserved from a deer or buffalo consecrated to Tira'wa, and mixes it with red paint and anoints himself. Then he puts on his leggings and moccasins, and a buffalo robe, with the hair outside, tying it about the waist with a rope made of buffalo hair. He fastens a white, downy eagle feather in his scalp lock and goes to the lodge of the man who has inaugurated the party. He takes with him a man as assistant; he is also accompanied by [793] another man, who is learning the songs and the details of the ceremony, preparatory to becoming himself able to conduct this rite, but whose present duty is to minister to the wants of the Ku'rahus.

At the lodge the chiefs and leading men of the village have been assembled, with those who have agreed to be of the party and have contributed the requisite gifts. This lodge has been swept clean and put in order for the occasion. The Ku'rahus takes his seat at the west end of the lodge, facing the east, and before him, spread out on a mat, are the materials for the preparation of the ceremonial articles.

After the Ku'rahus has begun to sing the songs belonging to the act of preparing these articles there must be no coming in or going out of the lodge, and no one can move from his place until this (the first ritual) has been completed. An exception is made in the case of two men who are sent out by the Ku'rahus to cut and bring in two sticks of ash. They go out during the singing of a certain stanza of the first song and must return while another particular stanza of the same song is being sung.

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Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 In this ceremony the brown eagle is called Kawas. This eagle has been made holy by being sacrificed to Tira'wa. Its feathers are tied upon the stem that has been painted blue to represent the sky.

778 782 This stem was the first one painted and decorated, because it is female and the leader. It represents the night, the moon, the north, and stands for kindness and helpfulness. It will take care of the people. It is the mother.

Throughout the ceremony the Ku'rahus carries this feathered stem.

After the Kawas stem is prepared the Ku'rahus hands it back to the man on his left, toward the north, to hold while he prepares a pendant of seven tail feathers from the white eagle. Then he takes from the man on his right, toward the south, the stem which had been painted green and ties on it this white-eagle pendant.

No song is sung while this is being done. The white eagle is not holy; it has not been sacrificed to Tira'wa. It has less power than Kawas; it is inclined to war, to hurt some one. It can not lead; it must follow. So the green stem is painted last, and all the decorations are put upon it after the other stem is completed.

This feathered green stem represents the male, the day, the sun, and the south. During the ceremony it is carried by the assistant of the Ku'rahus, whose place is on the right of the Ku'rahus, toward the south.

When we move about the lodge waving the two feathered stems to the rhythm of the song we are singing, Kawas, the brown eagle, is carried next the people, and the white-eagle stem on the farther side, away from the people, where it can do good by defending them and keeping away all harm. If it were carried next the children it would bring them war and trouble. It is the brown eagle that is always kept near the people and is waved over their heads to bring them the gifts of plenty and of peace.

The red and white streamers tied upon the two stems represent the sun and the moon.

While the Ku'rahus still has the sacred ointment upon his hands he anoints a crotched stick and two straight sticks, all three of which have been carefully scraped and smoothed. These sticks were cut from a plum tree, because this tree is prolific in bearing fruit.

PART III. PAINTING THE EAR OF CORN AND PREPARING THE OTHER SACRED OBJECTS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The Ku'rahus now mixes in a round wooden bowl blue clay with water taken from a running stream and paints with it an ear of white corn, in the way our fathers were taught to do. During this act the following song is sung.

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When we have finished singing this song the Ku'rahus takes one of the plum-tree sticks, which has been anointed with red clay mixed with fat, and ties on it with a thread of sinew a downy eagle feather. This stick is bound to the ear of corn so as to project a hand's breadth above the tip end, letting the downy feather wave above Mother Corn. This feather represents Tira'wa. It is always moving as if breathing. 796* [284]

The Ku'rahus then binds the other plum-tree stick to the corn so that it extends below the butt. When the corn is placed in ceremonial position this end of the stick is thrust in the ground so that the ear will stand upright without touching the earth. Both sticks are bound to the ear of corn by a braided band of hair taken from the head of a buffalo. The braided band signifies the gift of animal food and the provision of skin clothing. (The Skidi band of the Pawnees tie a bit of buffalo wool, such as is shed by the animal in the spring, together with a braid of sweet grass, to the ear of corn.) [184]

The two gourd rattles, which represent the squash given us by Tira'wa, and also the breasts of the mother, are each painted with a blue circle about the middle, with four equidistant lines from the circle to the bottom of the gourd. The circle represents the wall or boundary of the dome of the sky; the four lines are for the four paths at the four directions down which the powers descend. No song is sung while this painting is being done.

All the sacred articles are laid at rest on a wildcat skin when they are not being used ceremonially, and it is a cover for them in which they are all wrapped together at the close of the ceremony. The skin is never tanned, and the ears of the animal, the skin of the head, the feet, and the claws must all be intact. [281]

Tira'wa made the wildcat to live in the forest. He has much skill and ingenuity. The wildcat shows us that we must think, we must use tact, and be shrewd when we set out to do anything. If we wish to approach a person we should not do it bluntly; we should not rush at him; that might offend him so that he would not receive us or the gifts we desired to offer him. The wildcat does not make enemies by rash action. He is observant, quiet, and tactful, and he always gains his end. 773 576 825

In this ceremony we are to carry the sacred articles to one not of our kindred in order to bind him to us by a sacred and strong tie; we are to ask for him many good gifts, long life, health, and children, and we should receive gifts from him in return. If we would succeed we must learn of the wildcat, and be wise as he is wise.

The wildcat is one of the sacred animals. A man who killed a wildcat could sacrifice it to Tira'wahut. The man who brought such an offering had the right to ask the priest to teach him some of the mysteries that belong to the sacred shrine. 825 782 794

Many years ago two men took the Hako to the Omaha tribe. On the journey one of them killed a wildcat. I said to the man: "I am

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782 794 825 glad Mother Corn is here leading us, and the wildcat goes with the Hako." But the man who killed it said: "No, this skin will not go with the Hako! I am going to take it to the priest for sacrifice that I may learn some of the mysteries." But he did wrong and suffered for it, because that wildcat belonged with the Hako, for it was killed while we were being led by Mother Corn.

*796 The sacred articles having been completed are now laid at ceremonial rest. The wildcat skin is spread upon the earth in the holy place, which is in the west part of the lodge opposite the entrance, a little way back from the fireplace. The head of the skin is placed toward the east; the crotched plum-tree stick is thrust into the ground close to the head; the two feathered stems are laid in the crotch, the brown-eagle stem first, then the white-eagle stem on the top or outside. The eagle builds its nest in the crotch of a tree, so these eagle-feathered stems are laid in the crotch of the plum-tree stick. The ends which are thrust through the duck's head rest upon the wildcat, and under the wing-like pendants the gourd rattles are placed. Directly in front of the crotched stick stands Mother Corn.

PART IV. OFFERING OF SMOKE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 The time has now come for the offering of smoke to Tira'wa.

793 The priest of the Rain shrine must be present with the pipe belonging to that shrine and he must conduct the ceremony. After he has

789 filled the pipe with native tobacco the Ku'rahus tells the people that the time has come to offer smoke to Tira'wa, the father and the giver of all things. He selects from the company a man to act as pipe bearer during the ceremony of offering smoke. The pipe bearer must be one who has made sacrifices at the sacred tents where the shrines are kept and has been annointed, and who in consequence has been prospered in his undertakings. The prayers of such a man are thought to be more acceptable to the powers than those of a man who has never made sacrifices.

276 In old times men did not smoke for pleasure as they do now, but only in religious ceremonies. The white people have taught the Pawnees to profane the use of tobacco.

778 793 Each of the sacred shrines of the tribe has a pipe, and its priest knows the proper order in which the pipe should be offered to Tira'wahut. I am not a priest, so I do not know the order in which the Rain pipe is offered, nor can I tell you the ceremony; the knowledge of that belongs to its priest and not to me.

*796 Up to this point (the conclusion of the ceremony of smoking) all the people present have been obliged to remain quiet in their places; now they are at liberty to move about or to leave the lodge.

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PART III. CLOTHING THE SON AND OFFERING SMOKE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The Ku'rahus orders that the pack containing the new garments brought for the Son be opened, and he directs the chief to clothe the Son. The embroidered shirt, leggings, and moccasins are then put upon him and he is wrapped in a fine robe. 794* [431]

The Ku'rahus asks the priest of the shrine which controls the rain to take its sacred pipe and direct the Son how to offer tobacco and smoke to Tira'wa. [782 793]

The priest fills the sacred pipe and carries it toward the mouth, where he sits down beside the Son and instructs him what to do.

The Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief, bearing the sacred objects, follow the priest and halt before the Son.

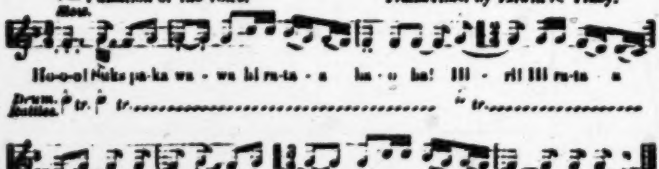
The priest puts the sacred pipe in the hand of the Son, and the first stanza of the following song is sung.

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 82. 539* 796* [533*]

• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



I		II	
417	Ho-o-o!	421	Ho-o-o!
418	Suks paka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!	422	Ti wawaka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!
419	Hiri! Hi rata-a hao ha!	423	Hiri! Hi rata-a hao ha!
420	Suks paka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!	424	Ti wawaka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!

Translation of First Stanza

417 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

418 Suks paka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!

suks, a command; you must.

paka, pako, speak. The change in the last vowel is for euphony.

wawa, part of rawawa, to send something: in this instance, to send the words or thoughts of the prayer.

hi, that person.

rata, my or mine.

a, vowel prolongation.

hao, child; offspring.

ha, a musical vocable used to fill out the measure.

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*539 *796 419 Hiri! Hi rata-a hao ha!
hiri! an exclamation meaning give heed! harken!
hi rata-a hao ha! See line 418.
420 See line 418.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The words of this stanza are a command to the Son. They are, "Give heed, my child; you must now send your prayers to the powers which dwell above."

This stanza is sung four times.

Then the Son takes a pinch of tobacco from the bowl of the pipe and passes it along the stem and offers it as the priest directs.

[793 778] There is a certain order to be observed in the offering of tobacco and smoke to the powers above peculiar to each of the sacred shrines, and only the priest or keeper of a shrine knows the order in which the powers which preside over his shrine should be approached. The sacred pipe belonging to the Itaiu shrine is used in this ceremony, and its priest must direct the Son how to make the offering. I do not know this order; it does not belong to me to know it.

When the pinch of tobacco has been presented to the powers above it is placed upon the earth.

After this act the second stanza is sung.

Translation of Second Stanza

421 Hoo-o! An introductory exclamation.
422 Ti wawaka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!
ti, he.
wawaka; waka, spoken; the added wa indicates that he has spoken to those who are at a great distance.
wawa, part of tiwari, traveling from one, and towawa, traveling in many ways, to many different places.
hi, that person.
rata, my or mine.
a, vowel prolongation.
hao, child.
ha, a musical vocable.
423 See line 419.
424 See line 422.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[782] As the Son offers tobacco in the directions indicated by the priest, he prays to the powers that dwell in these directions. What he says is not audible to us, for it is not intended for us to hear.

The words of this stanza refer to the prayers of the Son.

We are bidden to take heed that the prayers of the Son, who is as our child, have been spoken and have traveled far, going on and on to the different distant places where the great powers abide which watch over the rain.

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*539 616 Pirao rati hao.
*796 pirao, child, a general term, anybody's child.
rati, a part of the word hirati, my.
hao, my own child.
617 Ti kiri ka. Ha! Wita hesha!
ti kiri ka. See line 614.
ha! behold!
wita, coming.
hesha, a part of the word tahesha, daylight.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While the messengers are going from one lodge to another to awake the people and bid them come to the lodge where the ceremony is being performed, we sing this second stanza.

It tells that the Son, now become as our own offspring, has gone forth to awake the Children, who have heard his call, and now, behold! they come forth to look upon the light of day.

This stanza is sung four times.

ELEVENTH RITUAL (SECOND DAY). THE MALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. CHANT TO THE SUN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 On this, the second day of the ceremony, we remember our father
821 the Sun. The sun comes directly from Tira'wa atius, and whoever is touched by the first rays of the sun in the morning receives new life and strength which have been brought straight from the power above. The first rays of the sun are like a young man, they have not yet spent their force or grown old, so, to be touched by them is to receive an accession of strength.

*796 The door of the lodge where the ceremony is performed must face
[346] the east, so that the first rays of the sun can enter and reach the Children. I believe that as we sing this song and as the first rays touch the Children they will receive help and strength. I was told by my predecessor that it would be so, and he was taught by those who had received the knowledge from the fathers; therefore I tell the same to the Children. All the time I am singing this song I remember the
[776 Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Corn; all these were made by Tira'wa
782] atius, and I ask them to give us success and plenty; success in hunting and in war; plenty of food, of children, and of health. The Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Corn, are powerful.

The Children, who have been aroused by the messengers of the Son, gather at the lodge before the sun is up. They must be there when the first ray appears if they would gain its blessing.

As soon as we who are standing at the west of the lodge, looking through the doorway, catch sight of the first ray of the sun on the horizon, we take up the Hako and move by the north to make a first circuit of the lodge, and sing the first verse of this chant.

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lodge in charge of the Hako go to their tents. Soon all is quiet within the lodge, the fire burns down to coals and every one sleeps except the man on guard. He must watch through the night and give warning of the first sign of a change in the appearance of the east. As soon as this is seen the skins that hang over the doors of the lodge are lifted and the Ku'rahus makes ready to repeat the songs to the Dawn (tenth ritual). We sing these sacred songs at the dawn of the second day, the day when we chant to our father the Sun, and we sing them again at the dawn of the third day, when we sing to our mother the Earth.

539* 796*

THIRTEENTH RITUAL (THIRD DAY). THE FEMALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. THE SACRED FEAST OF CORN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

With the morning sun the Children gather at the lodge to receive their morning meal given them by the Fathers. Soon afterward the sacred feast of the Corn takes place. For this feast the Children prepare the food in the manner our fathers did. They pound the dried corn in a wooden mortar and boil the coarse meal until it is thoroughly cooked. They do this in their own homes and then carry the food in the kettles in which it has been cooked to the lodge where the ceremony is being performed, and set them near the fireplace toward the southeast, where wooden bowls and horn spoons have been provided for the occasion.

796* 252 [415]

When all the company have been seated the Fathers ladle out the food into the bowls. The Ku'rahus takes up a little of the food on the tip of a spoon, offers it toward the east, flipping a particle toward the horizon line. He then passes to the north, drops a bit on the rim of the fireplace, and goes to the west, where, facing the east, he lifts the spoon toward the zenith, pauses, waves it to the four quarters and slowly lowers it to the earth and drops a bit on the rim of the fireplace. After this ceremony of offering thanks the filled bowls are placed before the people. Two or more persons take a few spoonfuls from the same bowl, then, hanging the spoons on the edge to prevent their falling into the food, they pass the bowl on to the next group at the left. In this way all the people partake of a common feast.

782 796*

PART II. SONG TO THE EARTH

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

On the third day of the ceremony it is the duty of the Ku'rahus to teach the Children concerning h'U'raru, Mother Earth, and of those

539* 796* 773

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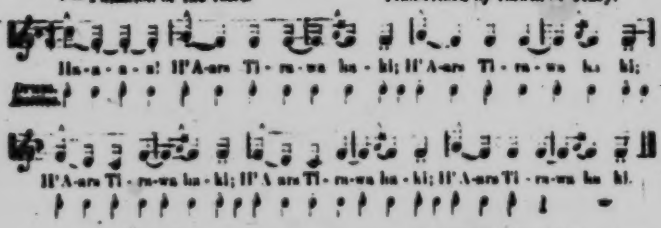
539*
796*
533*

SEVENTH SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 126.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



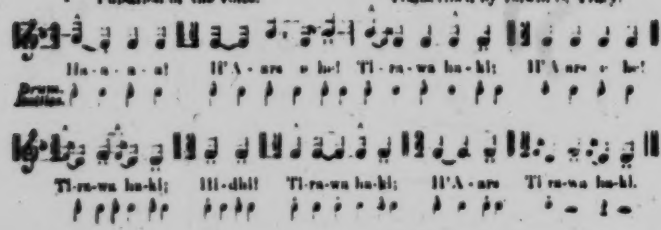
979 Ha-a-a-a!
980 H'Aars Tira wa haki;
981 H'Aars Tira wa haki;
982 H'Aars Tira wa haki;
983 H'Aars Tira wa haki;
984 H'Aars Tira wa haki.

For translation, see eighth ritual, lines 437–442.

EIGHTH SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 126.
• Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



985 Ha-a-a-a!
986 H'Aars e he! Tira wa haki;
987 H'Aars e he! Tira wa haki;
988 Hidhi! Tira wa haki;
989 H'Aars Tira wa haki.

For translation, see eighth ritual, lines 443–447.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The songs we sing during the last two circuits are the same that we sang when we prepared the Hako (first ritual). The first was when we painted the stem blue, the color of the sky, representing the abode of the powers above. The other was when we painted the stem green, the color of the covering of the fruitful earth. When we sang these songs we called upon the powers to come and give life and potency to the stems, and now we call upon them again asking for the fulfilment of the promises of the Hako.

[782]

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Translation of Fifth Stanza

*539 1138 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 1139 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Pichûts we ri ta waro ho!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
pichûts, a brush made of grass.
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
waro, spreading over.
ho! from hiri! give heed!
1140, 1141 See line 1139.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza, the old man touches the head of the child and smooths its hair with the brush of grass. In this act the brush prepares the hair for the sacred symbols which are to be put upon it. In this act we are thinking only of the brush and its usefulness, and not of Toharu, as represented by the grass.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

1142 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1143 Hiri! 'Hari, Hiri! Pichûts we ri ta witshpa ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
pichûts, a brush made of grass.
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
witshpa, accomplished; completed.
ha! behold!
1144, 1145 See line 1143.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In this stanza we sing that it is accomplished, the power of Toharu has nourished and prepared the child for the ceremonial acts which are now to take place.

PART II. ANOINTING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[782] The ointment used in this act of anointing the child is red clay mixed with fat from a deer or buffalo which has been consecrated or set apart at the time it was killed as a sacrifice to Tira'wa. The first animal killed on a hunt belongs to Tira'wa.

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Translation

*539 *796 1297 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation to the song.
1298 H'i re ra!
h', the symbol of breath; breathing forth life.
i, a part of the word Tira'wa, the mighty power above.
re, is.
ra, coming. The word as here used conveys the idea of coming from a great distance.
1299 See line 1298.
1300 Pira uta hao!
pira, a part of the word piraa, child, a general term.
uta, a part of the word kuta, possessed by or belonging to some one other than the speaker.
hao, offspring.
1301 Pira uta, uta hao! See line 1300.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 When I sing this song I pray to Tira'wa to come down and touch with his breath the symbol of his face and all the other symbols on the little child. I pray with all my spirit that Tira'wa atius will let the child grow up and become strong and find favor in its life.

781 This is a very solemn act, because we believe that Tira'wa atius, 782 although not seen by us, sends down his breath as we pray, calling on him to come.

As I sing this song here with you I can not help shedding tears. I have never sung it before except as I stood looking upon the little child and praying for it in my heart. There is no little child here, but you are here writing all these things down that they may not be lost and that our children may know what their fathers believed and practiced in this ceremony. So, as I sing, I am calling to Tira'wa atius to send down his breath upon you, to give you strength and long life. I am praying for you with all my spirit.

This song is sung eight times.

*539 *796 As we sing it first we bow above the little child, and make a movement as if to touch it with the feathered stems and the ear of corn. The second time we sing it we again bow low over the child and the chief touches it on the forehead with the ear of corn, while the Ku'rahus and his assistant stroke it on each side with the feathered stems. We then pass to the south, to the right side of the child, and sing for the third and the fourth time. The first time we make the motion of touching the child, the second time the chief touches its head with the ear of corn, and the feathered stems are passed down its sides. Then we go west to the back of the child and there sing for the fifth and sixth times, making the same motions and again touching it. Then we go north, to the left of the child, and sing for the

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Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In the first stanza we call upon the woodpecker, who is busy making a noise, tapping upon the trees in the thick woods, and we ask him to remind his father of the promise that the storm should not come near his nest. 539* 796* 821

The woodpecker is with us on the stem, and the storm is now threatening our nest, the lodge where we are holding the ceremony, so we call on him, the woodpecker, and ask him to remind his father of the promise given. 782

The second stanza tells us that the four beings at the west speak, for when the thunders sound they all speak. These now answer the woodpecker, who has reminded them of their promise when Tira'wa atius, the father of all things, placed the bird and its nest under their protection.

If, after we have sung these stanzas, the clouds part, we know that our prayers have been heard. We all return to the lodge, and the wildcat skin is spread upon the holy place at the west, the crotched stick is put in position, the eagle stems and all the other articles are laid at ceremonial rest. When this has been done the chief takes the sacred pipe and, accompanied by the priest of the shrine containing the objects sacred to the powers of the rain, goes out and makes an offering of smoke. The priest directs the chief where to point the pipe-stem. By this act of offering smoke we give thanks to the powers, who have heard our prayers and averted the storm.

PRAYER FOR THE GIFT OF CHILDREN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This ceremony is very old and has now become obsolete. It is a prayer for the power of procreation. It was never performed except at the request of the Son, and was only in the interest of a man to whom children had not been born. It took place either in the early morning or at night, never during the day. 796* [782] 842

When the request for the ceremony had been made, the Ku'rahus selected a man from among the Fathers whose duty it became to carry the Son and to care for him as a father would care for a little child.

A white buffalo robe was kept for this particular ceremony. After the Son had been lifted on the back of the Father, this white robe was thrown over the two and was held together in front by the Father, as a person would hold his robe if he were carrying a child on his back. As the Father, carrying the Son, moved toward the entrance of the lodge, he was followed by the Ku'rahus and his assistant bearing the feathered stems and the chief with the cat skin and the ear of corn, while the following song was sung.

The words are: "Behold! Your father is walking with his child!" [539*]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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The unit of time is an eighth note, represented by a short dash, –; a quarter note is represented by a longer dash, two beats, —; a three-eighths note by a still longer dash, three beats, , and so on. The dots indicate the number of voice pulsations given to a tone while it is held. Where there is emphasis it is marked on the diagram by the accent sign '. 796* 533*

A rhythmic rendition, which aims not only to convey the literal meaning but to embody the elucidations of the Ku'rahus as well, has been made. Its words have been so chosen that the lines shall conform to the rhythm of the corresponding phrases of the songs. This rendition is for the purpose of presenting to the eye and the ear of the English reader the song as it appeals to the Pawnee who has been instructed in the rite. [128]

The variety of rhythmic forms in the songs of the rituals offers interesting material for the study of the relation of the musical phrase to the development of metrical language. The movements which accompany each song and act of the ceremony give further testimony to the fundamental character of rhythm.

In the following analysis the scheme of the ceremony will be closely observed.

THE PREPARATION

First Division. Initial Rites

FIRST RITUAL. MAKING THE HAKO

Part I. Invoking the Powers

The ceremony of the Hako, we are told by the Ku'rahus, is a prayer for offspring. It opens with a song which recalls the creation of man, the gifts bestowed on him by Tira'wa atius through the powers, and the establishment of rites by which he can appeal to the powers. The content of the song prefigures the fulfilment of man's desire for the reproduction of his life, and the orderly approach by which he should make his desire known. Such a prefiguring seems to be essential at the opening of a ceremony to give it a supernatural warrant. 796* 842 539* 782

The preparation of the Hako constitutes the opening ritual, the first song of which is an appeal to the lesser powers in the order of their coming near to man from the holy place, Awahokshu (first song, line 4). They are said to descend by the four paths at the four cardinal points (line 9), and the ceremonial motions indicating these quarters are an indirect way of mentioning the powers. Each stanza of the appeal, falling into four musical phrases, suggests this four fold symbol. 782 796* 539* [533*]

The appeal is in the form of a litany, each stanza beginning with a call to "give heed," and closing with the response that heed has been given. The climax in both words and music is reached in the third phrase, which is a direct invocation of one of the powers. [533*]

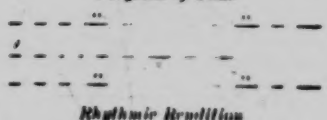
1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PART III. CLOTHING THE SON AND OFFERING SMOKE

*796 The lodge having been made ready as a nest within which life might be given and made secure, the Father performed his first act of recognition and responsibility. He put upon the Son the garments he had previously prepared for the purpose. When clad in the finely embroidered clothing, the Son was told to make the offering of smoke to Tira'wa atius, as a prayer for the consecration of the new-born relationship.

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time



*533
*796

Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539 My son, now heed, attend to the command I give to you:
*796 Oh, speak to the gods list'ning[b] above us!
Oh, let your prayers ascend to the mighty ones on high!

II

My son obeys. His voice is now trav'ling far, speeding on;
It goes to the list'ning gods above us;
There will his prayer be heard by the mighty ones on high.

*796 The ceremony of offering smoke was conducted by a priest, who instructed the Son as to the order in which the stem of the pipe and the smoke must be offered to the various directions. Meanwhile the Fathers with the Hako stood before the Son singing this song, which voiced their participation in the offering.

SECOND SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796

Rhythmic Rendition

*539 See the smoke pass by!
*796 Riding high above, follows where his voice
Sped, intent to reach
Where the gods[c] abide in the deep blue sky.
See the smoke pass by!

[a] Music on page 101.
[b] Music on page 103.
[c] The word gods, meaning powers, is used because of the rhythm.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PART III. OFFERING OF SMOKE

*796 This teaching is further accentuated by the offering of smoke which follows the song. The feathered stem, Kawas, the mother, is used as the pipestem for this purpose. The offering of smoke is the closest and most sacred form of direct communication with the great unseen power.

[276 782]

PART IV. SONGS OF THE BIRDS

*539 *796 [993] In the songs of the birds, which close the day, the people are instructed in their parental duties. They must take upon themselves the care of providing for their children, even before they are born; they are to be cheerful and thankful for all they receive; they are to guide and protect their families, to be watchful and faithful in storm and in sunshine, by day and by night. By following these teachings they will receive in full measure, in completeness, the gifts of the Hako.

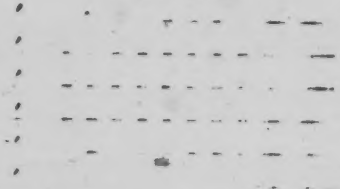
*533 *796 The diagram of time of each of the six songs of the birds is here given in the order of the text, but no rhythmical rendition has been made, as the story elaborates the meaning of each song.

THE SONG OF THE BIRD'S NEST.[a]

Diagram of Time

THE SONG OF THE WREN.[b]

Diagram of Time



THE SONG OF THE TURKEY AND THE WOODPECKER.[c]

Diagram of Time

[a] Music on page 168. [b] Music on page 171. [c] Music on page 178.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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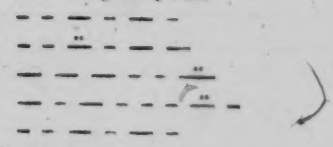
*796 oriole's nest represented security. The four circles around the fire as made by the Ku'rahus carrying the brown-feathered stem pictured to the Pawnees the promise of children, the gifts of plenty and of peace from the powers above.

SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



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Rhythmic Rendition

*539
*796

Behold where two eagles come forth!
Now they soar high over head;
See where one flies, watching flies, guarding he
His mate who has gone to her nest, dropping there;
'Tis Kawas who brings there new life.

PART II. SYMBOLIC FULFILMENT

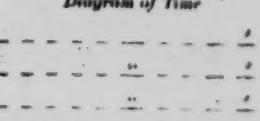
*796 The little child was put within each of these prophetic circles, its feet touching the nest and the promised plenty. Four times it was taken around the fireplace and each time it touched the four circles. The child was covered during the act of putting its feet in the nest. This act symbolized the birth of children, a mystery to man, as "only Tira'wa could know when generation would take place."

This simulated fulfilment of the promise of the Hako completed the sequence of acts in the drama of birth.

SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



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Rhythmic Rendition

*539
*796

Within the nest the child rests its little feet,
Awaiting there the gift sent by gods above;
Descending there to him comes the promised life.

PART III. THANK OFFERING

*796 The offering of sweet smoke followed immediately. As the smoke ascended all the articles of the Hako were waved through it, the child
782 was touched with it, and all the people passed their hands through it.

The sweet smoke offering was given that the powers above might

[a] Music on page 212. [b] Music on page 215.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

know that the ceremony had been carried out in accordance with the teachings given to the fathers in the visions. Its odor reached the abode of Tira'wa, bearing the touch of all faithful participants in the rite. 796* 782

After the offering of smoke all traces of the nests were obliterated, the coals used for the offering of smoke were returned to the fire, and the lodge once more was open to all the people.

THIRD DIVISION. THE DANCE OF THANKS

NINETEENTH RITUAL

PART I. THE CALL TO THE CHILDREN

The purpose of the rite was recognized by the important place given to children in this part of the ceremony. The ponies presented to the Fathers were each led up by a little child; the acting out of a man's warlike deeds was to honor his child, and the little child with the black covering upon its head and the picture of Tira'wa upon its face received, with the chief, the gifts as they were presented. 796*

In every instance the child was the tie between the two groups, the Fathers and the Children.

FIRST SONG[a]

Diagram of Time 533* 796*

Rhythmic Recitation

Harken! List! We are calling you. Come! Come! Children, come! [539*]
Come! We're ready and waiting, your Father's waiting. Come! Children, come!
Hear us calling, calling you! Children, come!
Children, come! Come hither!
Harken! List as we call you, call to the Children to come.

SECOND SONG[b]

Diagram of Time

[a] Music on page [illegible]. [b] Music on page [illegible].

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FOURTH DIVISION. PRESENTATION OF THE HAKO

TWENTIETH RITUAL

PART I. BLESSING THE CHILD

At the close of the dance and the reception of gifts by the Fathers, the little child was again taken to the holy place and once more touched with the Hako upon all sides, from the east, the south, the west, and the north.

The song accompanying these movements was "a prayer to call down the breath of Tirâ'wa" upon the child that had been consecrated.

SONG.*

Diagram of Time

.. ..

.. ..

Rythmic Rendition

Breathe on him!
Breathe on him!
Life thou alone canst give to him.
Long life, we pray, Oh Father, give unto him!

PART II. PRESENTING THE HAKO TO THE SON AND THANKS TO THE CHILDREN

The Father (the chief) then removed the emblems from the face of the child, using for the purpose the fur of the wildcat, and took the covering and the symbols from its head. These with the Hako he rolled together within the wildcat skin and placed the bundle in the arms of the child.

The Hako, which had been the medium of bringing the promises, was carried by the recipient of these promises, the little child, to its father, the Son, who received them from the hands of his offspring.

The tie had now been formed, and the little child was released from its symbolic duties and ran out into the sunlight to join its playmates. Within the lodge the Fathers thanked the Children, and the people departed to their daily avocations.

While the various articles of the Hako were generally scattered at the close of the ceremony, the two feathered stems were preserved intact and frequently passed from tribe to tribe as long as they held together. Sometimes the Son was unwilling to part with those presented him, so, when he inaugurated a party, he had a new set made with the proper ceremony. At all times and under all conditions the feathered stems were never handled carelessly, but were treated with respect and their sacred character was remembered. During the entire time Tahi'rûsawichi was engaged upon this ceremony he never allowed

* Music on p. 75.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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late afternoon or in the morning, and the smoke offering differed according to which time of day it was. 668 776

In the arrangement for the time near sundown, the two chiefs carrying the pipes lead the way out of the tipi and all the others follow. Outside, the chiefs stand at the east of the clearing, facing west. Behind them the men form a long flat arc facing west, with White and his seven leaders in the center. The announcer cries out to the people at large that the singing will commence as soon as the smoking is over. 276 [202]

(First Phase[1]) Each of the two chiefs holds the pipe slantwise toward the west, offering it, not by holding it aloft, but by holding it just in front of him. Both proceed simultaneously. After offering the pipe west, each walks clockwise around the clearing, carrying the pipe, and after reaching the same point at the east, stops there, offers a pinch of tobacco upward to heaven, and one westward, placing each on the ground. (Lighting the Pipe) Then each again makes a clockwise circuit, stopping at a point east of northeast, where squatting with the pipe in mouth and its bowl toward the east the pipe is lit by means of a brand which is brought forward by anyone for this purpose. (Second Phase; first mode) Each arises, puffing the pipe, and returns to the east, where facing west, he puffs four times upward to heaven and four times to the west. (Second Phase; third mode) then carries the pipe through a clockwise circuit and takes it to whoever is standing at the extreme northern end of the arc-like row of men. Standing in front of this man the smoker puts the pipe to the man's lips without releasing the bowl. Then the smoker proceeds in turn to allow each man to puff the pipe, moving from north to south down the arc of men. (Third Phase) After all in the line have puffed, the smoker takes the pipe and carries it through a clockwise circuit, coming to the east of the clearing in front of the line of men. Here he faces west, loosens the ashes in the pipe-bowl with a tamper, offering ashes once upward to heaven; then emptying some, and again to the west, emptying the rest of the bowl contents on the ground before him. (Fourth Phase) Holding the empty pipe in his left hand, the smoker touches the right hand to the ashes on the ground, then runs the right hand up the pipe from bowl to mouthpiece while the stem is directed heavenward. He repeats this motion with the left hand, and again with the right and the left, making four motions. Then the smoker makes four similar motions while he directs the pipe toward the west. (Self-Blessing) Holding the pipe, 668 776 782 276

[1] Parenthetical divisions into phases, etc. refer to the analysis of the smoke offering in Chapter 8, see especially pp. 186—207.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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668 mouthpiece upward and bowl inward toward the body, he takes
782 it in his left hand and runs his right hand up it from bowl to mouth-
796 piece, opening the palm upward and outward toward heaven, then
276 places the hand on the right side of his head and runs his palm down the head and side and leg to the instep which is pressed against the ground. This motion is then made with the left hand for the left side etc. while the right hand holds the pipe, and repeated once again with the right and once again with the left, making four motions. Then the smoker turns and returns the pipe to another chief in the line of men, who receives it with an *arm blessing*.[1] When the offerings have been completed, the pipes are taken inside the tipi and replaced on the altar-space at the west.

Now the arc-like line at the west closes around the clearing to
533 form a circle of dancers, and women who have not up to this point
535 participated join the circle. They may, however, sing two songs before forming a circle of dancers, and these are special ghost-dance songs which are never danced to. Then the dancing begins from the east, facing west, circling clockwise.

668 Before describing the movements of the dancers, attention must
782 be called to the form of the smoke offering which would be made
796 if the dance were to begin in the morning.

276 If the dancing is to begin with a smoke-offering in the morning
823 the orientations for the smoke would be reversed. That is, the arc-line of leaders and men would form around White on the west, facing east; the smoker would begin all his circuits from the west, and the motions with the pipe which he made slantwise to the west, while he stood at the east side of the clearing and faced west, would become motions slantwise to the east which he would make standing at the west of the clearing and facing east. Finally the pipes would be handed along the line of leaders and men from south to north, instead of from north to south.

This shift of direction also changes the position for starting the dance, which is now at the point directly west, facing east. Here White stands and leads, and the circle proceeds clockwise. This is the generic position for beginning Ghost Dancing and singing, and even if the evening orientations are followed, only the first song begins at the east facing west; it then ends at the west, facing east, and all subsequent songs begin at the west.

It will be seen at once that the whole smoking ritual involves two basic orientation concepts: upward and either slantwise to the west or slantwise to the east. The upward offering is to Tirawahat[a] or the expanse of the heavens; the other is to the sun, according to

[1] See chapter 8, p. 209.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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his position in the morning or the evening, east or west. It follows, therefore, that the dancing begins facing the position of the sun. An adjustment is made so that up to about one o'clock by sun time, the orientation is slantwise to the east, and the dancing begins at the west; later in the afternoon, the evening orientation would be adopted.

The reference of the orientations is as follows: the offering to Tirawahat[a] must be part of any and every Pawnee smoke offering; that to the sun concerns the land of the dead: this is conceived to be in the western sky (see above, White's speech to the people on one late afternoon). In the land of the western sky, the deceased relatives of the living are dancing and singing while the dance goes on upon the earth. Also the dead are smoking to begin their dance, and they point their pipes toward their deceased relations: it is thus a mutual smoke, emphasizing their desire for reunion. The sun is conceived as a brother of the Morning Star, who, since his marriage with the Moon[1] (as the Morning Star's with the Evening Star), has his home or lodge in the west.[2] To this he returns every night. As he passes across the sky he sees all that goes on upon earth, and reports when he reaches his home in the evening. Thus, while the pipe is offered to the dead, it is directed toward the position of the sun, because what the people desire is that it should be reported to the dead that they are smoking to them.

In the vision which is the traditional origin of the smoke offering for Pawnee Ghost Dances,[3] "the Child of the Father in Heaven" is spoken of. This is a definite reference to Christ, who is conceived by the Pawnee as in charge of the region of the west where the dead people are. A similar reference is made in Mrs. Cover's dream of later Ghost Dance times (see below).

A fundamental way in which the Christ legends were fitted into Pawnee ideology is of interest and importance. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star, carried out as a ritual of the Morning Star bundle of the Skiri Pawnee, involves the sacrifice of a captive maiden to a power conceived as deity as a propitiatory offering on behalf of all Pawnee. That is, the maiden dies for the people. In the details a scaffold is involved, to which the maiden is bound by thongs.

The crucifixion of Christ becomes in Ghost Dance conceptions

[1] See Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 6.

[2] Note the relation to matrilocal residence; the western region in old cosmology is dominated by female powers. See also, my Levirate and Fraternal Polyandry among the Pawnee, Man. 1930, no. 78, p. 99.

[3] Murie, Societies, p. 64. Quoted above in first section of this chapter.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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When each house-group had ready its quota of wood, meat and all else necessary, everything was in order and the dance could begin.

A sacred smoke offering opened the dance. If the people wished to begin dancing on an evening, the usual form was to hold the smoke ceremony, then dance a little, perhaps ten songs, and adjourn until morning. At the continuation of the dancing in the morning no smoke offering would be made; but if dancing were begun for the first time in the morning, a preliminary offering was necessary.

Inside the main tipi were the Seven Brothers seated on the south side. Four chiefs were selected to carry pipes and make a smoke offering. These came out of the tent leading the way, followed by the Seven Brothers, each wearing an eagle feather in his hair. They were directed by Knifechief. This was the first occasion on which the Skiri Ghost Dancers saw the Seven Eagle Brothers as an organization.

Outside, the arrangement in relation to the clearing followed the form already described for White's South Band Ghost-Dancing. The Seven Brothers were in the center of an arc-like line of men which stood at the east of the clearing facing west (for an evening smoke-offering). In front of this line stood the four chiefs with pipes, also facing west. While the Seven Brothers were in the center of the line, Sam Cover who was No. 1 Eagle Brother was not in the center of the seven, but at the south end of the seven: the others followed in the order given above, from south to north: this was the order of their selection. The significance of this arrangement is that now there was no main one who must be in the center—all were equal. In the row of men four chiefs took special places: two south of the Seven Brothers and two north.

Each of the four smokers had a special function. Their arrangement was from south to north as they faced west: Number 1 smoker at the south end of the row of four smoked to heaven; number 2 to the west (Christ); number 3 to the east (position of the rising sun); and number 4 at the north end of the row of four smokers, to the south, the noon sun.

The four smokers proceeded with their movements simultaneously. Number 1 took the filled pipe, (phase 1[1]) walked through a half circuit clockwise to the west where he faced east and offered a pinch of tobacco upward, placing it on the ground; (lighting the pipe) then he continued clockwise to the northeast, where he squatted toward the east, holding the pipe in his mouth. Here it was lit from a brand brought forward by another. (Phase 2; first

[1] See Chapter 8, pp. 186–207.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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mode) He rose puffing the pipe and walked clockwise around the clearing stopping again at the west facing east, where he offered four puffs upward to heaven, and four downward to the earth. (Phase 2; third mode) Then he walked clockwise until he neared the row of men on the east of the clearing, when he went to the man who was at the extreme northern end of the row and offered him the pipe to smoke. This he did without releasing the pipe, holding the bowl in his right hand, the offered pipestem in his left. The man accepting the pipe to smoke merely puts his two hands around the mouthpiece of the pipe and holds it to his lips, drawing a puff. Then the smoke-offerer moved along southward to the second man in the row to whom he offered the pipe to puff, and so on down the row to the extreme south end of it. (Phase 3) The smoker then made a half-circuit clockwise to the west of the clearing, where he tamped the ashes loose (the pipe was now out) and offered ashes twice upward to heaven, emptying some each time on the ground, and again offered some ashes twice downward to the earth, finally depositing the last of the ashes from the bowl on the ground. (Phase 4) Now as he stood at the west, he held the empty pipe with the mouthpiece pointing upward, touched the ashes on the ground with his right hand, and ran his right hand up the pipe, from bowl to mouthpiece, opening his palm upward and outward toward heaven: he repeated this action with his left hand, holding the pipe in the same position with his right, then repeated it once more with his right hand and once more with his left, making four motions upward to heaven. Then he pointed the mouthpiece of the pipe slightly slantwise downward toward the earth, and made four similar motions toward the earth, each time touching the ashes on the ground before running his hand along the pipestem. He had now finished the smoke offering. (Self-Blessing; return of pipe) He walked with the pipe around the clearing clockwise until he reached a point just in front of the chief at the left (south) of Sam Cover, the Number 1 Brother. He stood in front of this chief, and a little to the south, faced the chief, and made the motions of *self blessing*.[1]

Number 2 smoker (Phase 1) meanwhile made a half circuit clockwise until he reached the west, where he faced *west*, offered tobacco slantwise to the west, and downward to the ground, placing a pinch from the pipe-bowl each time on the ground. (lighting the pipe) came clockwise to the position at the northeast where the pipe is lit. (phase 2: first mode) continued clockwise until he again reached the west, where facing west he then smoked four puffs slantwise to the west and four downward to the ground. (Phase 2: second

[1] See chapter 8, pp. 207—209.

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mode) Then he walked clockwise until he came to the row of men east of the clearing: he offered the lit pipe to the man at the extreme northern end of the row, and to each man in the row southward until he reached the man at the extreme south end of the row. (Phase 3) Then he took the pipe, which was out, clockwise to the west of the clearing, where facing west he offered ashes twice slantwise to the west, and twice to the earth. (Phase 4) He then made four hand-motions to the west and four to the earth, (self-blessing and return of pipe) came clockwise around the clearing until he stood in front of the chief at the right (north) of Harry Sergeant, number seven of the Seven Brothers; here he made the motions of self-blessing, and then returned the empty pipe to this chief, who received it with a blessing.

Number three smoker followed an analogous procedure. The unique character of his smoke appears in the following: the position at which he stopped to make offerings of tobacco (phase 1), offerings of smoke (phase 2: first mode), offerings of ashes (phase 3), and motions of blessing (phase 4), was at the *east* of the clearing, facing *east;* he there held the pipe slantwise to the east, and slantwise downward to the ground, and made offerings to the position of the rising sun and to the earth; he offered his pipe down the row of men from north to south as the others had done. He made the motions of self-blessing in front of the chief to the left (south) of the chief to whom the Number 1 smoker returned the number 1 pipe (that is, the second man to the left or south of Sam Cover, the number 1 Brother) and returned the pipe to this chief.

Number Four smoker proceeded analogously. The place of his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes and motions was at the *south* of the clearing, facing *south*. He returned the pipe to the chief right (north) of the chief to whom the number 2 smoker returned the number 2 pipe (the second man to the right or north of Harry Sergeant, the number seven Brother).

In carrying out these simultaneous offerings there was no collision of the smokers: similar actions, such as offering the pipes to the row of men, were done in the order of the smokers. Before the number one smoker returned to make his self-blessing and give the pipe back to the chief, the number four smoker had completed his offering of the pipe to the men in the line.

After the smokers had all finished, they returned to their places in front of the row of men. Each pipe was now returned to the man who had made a smoke offering with it, and as Sam Cover began to sing a Ghost Dance song, these smokers took the pipes back into the tipi. Inside this main tipi or sacred tent, a covering had been

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spread at the sacred altar place at the west, and on this the pipes were laid, mouthpiece to the east. There was nothing else on the altar place. There was an alternative to replacing the pipes on the altar inside the tipi. The four men who smoked could stand at the east of the clearing holding pipes with their arms folded, while the singing and Ghost Dancing went on. These four men did not participate in the dancing.

If the smoke was in the morning, the row of men would be at the west facing east, all the smokers would start their circuits from the west, and would offer the pipe down the line from south to north, but the orientation of positions at which each smoker made his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes, and motions would be identical with what has been described.

The differences between this four-fold smoke offering and that described for the South Bands above, are differences of complexity. These were based on Mrs. Washington's visions; it was her smoke-offering. The essential concepts, however, remain the same: upward for heaven, downward for the earth, westward for sunset and Christ, and two positions for the sun: eastward for the rising sun, south for noon sun. Of these heaven and earth orientations are generic for all Pawnee smoke-offerings, and the strict theory of Pawnee theologians is that they must be included in any smoke offering.[1] The offerings to Christ and the sun are two aspects of the same intention, since the sun is a messenger who carries the news of what goes on among the people on earth to those in the western land of the dead. The sun at noon is supposed to be in position to see clearly what is happening below, and to hear what is said to him.

The additional complexity of the smoke offering is particularly interesting because it is symptomatic of a tendency of Skiri religion in general as opposed to South Band religion. In other aspects of Pawnee ritualism and ceremony, while certain basic concepts of the religion are the same for Skiri and the South Bands, an enormous multiplication of specific interrelations has added great complexity to the Skiri forms. The great number of Skiri Pawnee bundles is probably a result of this tendency: Continuous differentiation of function has resulted in a subdivision of bundle powers, and the development of a specific bundle for a specific power. Among the

[1] So fundamental is this minimum of smoke offerings: upward to heaven and downward to earth, that Mark Evarts today begins to smoke a cigarette by making one puff upward and one downward, and finishes his smoke by flicking a bit of ash off as he makes a motion upward, and then another bit of ash off as he makes a motion downward before he puts the cigarette out.

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South Bands there are ancient bundles which each possess a group of functions that among the Skiri are differentiated and associated with separate bundles.

After the smoke offering, Sam Cover led the Seven Brothers in singing one or two Ghost Dance songs, without any dancing. Then the line closed around the clearing to form a circle of dancers, women came to join in, and the regular dancing began. Usually on a first evening of Ghost Dancing, only ten or twenty songs were sung. After the closing song, the general public would break up, each group of people returning to the family tipi. The Seven Brothers, the four chiefs who smoked, other chiefs, Mrs. Goodeagle, Mrs. Cover, Mrs. Washington, and some individuals who were special leaders, gathered in the main tipi of the dance. Here two old men acted as tarutsius, fire-tenders and servers. Food was brought in and set out in buckets at the east of the tipi near the door. Sam Cover then made an offering with corn before the group ate. It was a simple offering: He took some of the corn in his hands, stood behind the collected food and made inclusive arm motions (to indicate that this food was offered on behalf of all the food being partaken of), then came clockwise to the west of the fireplace where he raised the corn aloft to heaven and then placed it on the ground before him. He pressed it into the ground, rubbed his hands together and made four motions upward to heaven with both hands, touching his fingers to the corn on the ground before each motion. Then he made four similar motions towards the earth; blessed himself, walked through a circuit to his own place on the south, and sat down. All present said "Nawa" and then the food was served. The tarutsius must serve the food in a special order: first the chiefs at the west (the four smokers), then the seven brothers on the south, then old men who are seated on both sides of the entrance-way at the east, then all others present, serving them from west to east down both sides of the tipi.[1]

At this gathering the order and time of the events of the next morning were announced.

The next morning dancing began before sunrise. Two or three of the Seven Brothers went out onto the dance grounds, stood at the west facing east, and sang several Ghost Dance songs. As the people awoke and heard these they came out hurriedly to join in. As soon as four or five came, including women, all began to dance around clockwise. Gradually as the people gathered, the circle expanded. An old man walked around crying out to the people

[1] There is for every Pawnee ceremony an *order* in which those present are served; see chapter 8, pp. 220—229.

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to come and join the dancing. Some chiefs walked around the circle of dancers carrying pipes in their folded arms, but no smoke offering was made. Should the singers pause for a rest, pipes (but not these sacred pipes) were often smoked non-ceremonially.

After ten or twenty songs, the people ended the dancing with the finishing song, and returned to their tipis for breakfast. When they stopped the old man crier went through the camp calling out to the people to be ready to dance about one o'clock.

At one o'clock the dancers reassembled. The Seven Brothers took their places at the west side of the clearing, in order, each with special face-painting and wearing his eagle feather. Sam Cover led the singing, and the dancing began at the west, circling clockwise. Sam Cover and Emmet Pierson, the number 2 Brother, carried leather rattles which they shook in time to the dancing.

The dancing continued until about five in the afternoon, or just before sundown. The evening meal was prepared by women while the dancing went on, so that everything was ready when the finishing song concluded the dancing for the day.

After the dancing, the people gathered in the space between the cleared dance ground and the sacred tipi to the west of it. The Seven Brothers sat down on the east side of this space, facing west (this would of course be west of the cleared ground), while the chiefs sat on the west side facing east. In this way the chiefs and the seven brothers faced each other across this cleared space. The people gathered around the sides forming more or less of a circle. One chief was selected to talk. He said:

"We have all come together today to worship God. Now you must try to think what you are here for. Now the ground is open, there is nothing in the way (i. e. it is outdoors), God can look straight down upon us. Here's the sunlight over us, he's the one who knows all about it, and he knows also what you think about; you can't ever hide it. Now we are going to eat."

The main tarutsius now came forward. This chief gave the tarutsius a horn spoon which he had been holding while he spoke. In the center of the space around which the people had gathered the food had been set out in buckets. The tarutsius received the spoon. (Filling the spoon[1]) He walked clockwise around, passing behind the food and around it, then with the spoon took some corn from the buckets, made a clockwise circuit and passed outside of the circle of people between the Seventh Brother (who is at the north end of the seated row of Seven Brothers) and the people at his right. (First Phase[1]) Outside the circle the tarutsius walked clock-

[1] See Chapter 8; the Food Offering and Service, pp. 220—228.

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668 796 782 wise around the sacred dance ground (not the space around which the people are gathered) which was now vacant, and came to the west of it where he stopped facing east. At this point his back was to the back of the Seven seated Brothers. Here he offered corn upward to heaven, then bent down and pushed some off the spoon onto the ground, then turned to the west to which he offered the spoon of corn slantwise, then pushed some more off onto the ground, and finally placed the rest on the ground as an offering to the earth. (Second phase; first mode[1]) He then put the spoon on the ground beside him, and touching and pressing the corn into the earth, made three sets of motions with his hands and arms: four upward to heaven, four westward, and four to the earth. (Self-blessing; return of spoon[1]) Then he picked up the spoon and went through the motions of the final self-blessing with it, pressing his feet firmly to the ground. With the spoon he turned and reentered the circle of people between the First Brother (who is at the south end of the row of seven seated brothers) and those at his left, walked through a half circuit clockwise until he faced the chiefs sitting at the west, and returned the spoon to the chief who had given it to him. All the people say, "Nawa."

668 796 [264 554] The food was then served. A number of men were selected to do the serving, some serving the chiefs, others the Seven Brothers, and still others the people in general. The chiefs must be served first, and then the Seven Brothers, and then the public at large. After all had eaten the dishes were put away. The people might come back and dance on the dance-ground until the sun had fully set. They stopped finally at full sundown. Many of the people did not camp on the grounds and had to go home for the night. Others had to look out for their horses.

In this way the people danced at the encampment for four days, and the last day they continued dancing all night. As individuals had trance visions, they would begin to wear different feathers and paints according to what they saw; and at later Ghost Dances would bring out these Ghost Dance things and use them.

[513] After the entire dance was over, the people generally slept a full day. Later they might decide to hold a hand game. In these early Ghost Dance times among the Skiri, a hand game could only be held after a full Ghost Dance had been carried out. Later hand games were interspersed in the Ghost Dancing.

Such were the ceremonial forms of the first Ghost Dancing among the Skiri proper.

792 668 796 787 Although Mrs. Washington was in this way responsible for the first organization of the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Goodeagle came to

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Mark Evarts led several times, and says that whenever he had the lead he had good luck. One time a baby was born while the dance was in progress—that was good luck. Tobacco was being ceremonially prepared to be handed to Mark for making a smoke offering. While they were praying that good luck might go with the tobacco, a grandchild of Linford Smith's was born. So all present thanked God, and hoped it would be that way throughout the dancing.

While these developments were taking place among the Skiri, the Ghost Dancing of the South Bands continued to follow the formal arrangements which had been instituted by Frank White. As members of the organization of seven singers which had been developed by White died, new members were selected to take their places. The smoke offering was not altered.

Murie, in discussing Pawnee ceremonial Ghost Dance, forms, states[1]:

"In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they learned what is now regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple... The modern Ghost Dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center toward the north or south side according to the place of the host..."

The arrangement of which Murie speaks, in terms of which the leading tent was on the north or south according to the place of the host, refers to Ghost Dance hand games, rather than Ghost Dances proper; for in the hand games, as will be described below, one side (either north or south, viz., either Crow or Eagle) is "host" and in charge.

GHOST DANCE SONGS[2]

The songs "dreamed" or secured in visions in the Ghost Dance ranged over all the subjects that could naturally come to mind. Some emphasized aspects of the Ghost Dance doctrine, viz., that in the other world all was as in former days, that the Christ was

affair, viz., supply the bulk of the meat and other food necessary, as well as the method of selecting one man to be in charge, are general Pawnee patterns.

[1] Murie, p. 630.

[2] The song texts of this section have been retranscribed and retranslated from the Densmore versions by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

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feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one Horn Dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals. The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this woman." (1914).

The Horse Society (raris arusa) was revived early, probably by Frank Leader. Murie describes at length a ceremony for renewing the society lances held May 23, 1902.[1] The paraphernalia included two lances, four rattles, four hand drums, and a red pipestone bowl with tubular dogwood stem, the stem incised with black bands to resemble trachea markings.[2]

Of certain societies we cannot be sure that the revival was extensive. All the societies mentioned were used as sources for the content of Ghost Dance visions, and the visionaries made facsimiles of old society objects which they carried in the dance. When the visions were as well bestowals of special rituals, such as hand games, the society objects became part of the bundle and altar. The Crow Lance Society (hatuxka) was revived in this way by Mark Rudder; a lance was placed at the altar, and a brief dance led by Rudder opened the game occasion (See Chapter X). The Society of Crows (raris kaka), a derivative of the hatuxka of aboriginal times, was independently revived by George Beaver, and it is probable that paraphernalia made by him were integrated with his game set.[3] Fancy Eagle is credited with the making of a hand drum which was associated with the old Fighting Lances (tirupahe[4]) and used in hand games.

In addition to the use of paraphernalia, songs of these revived societies were used in the intervals of the hand game ceremonies. It is also probable that the use of drums in the hand game ceremonies was based on old society forms.

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[1] Murie, Societies 561 ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 567, p. 566 fig. 5. Two hand drums in the Field Museum (F M 79368—1,2) are probably those of Leader; the face bears in red a representation of the raris arusa sheathed lance with its sets of fringed feathers.

[3] F M 73962 is the revival lance; it is not encased in buckskin. F M 79364 and 79365 are hand drums decorated with Ghost Dance symbols, which are said to have been used for the raris kaka by Beaver.

[4] F M 71934. Reference is made by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 68 to a song which apparently concerns the revival of this society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

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525 619 chiefs, warriors and braves stand around to watch the game; they do not play. An important Skiri chief may come to look on, may sit at a distance and smoke calmly. By his presence he expresses his interest in the welfare and doings of his people. Some Skiri players, perhaps the leader, leave the circle to sit beside him and smoke with him, to show their appreciation of his presence.

The Kitkahaxki[x] leader has the pipe in his hand. All who are going to play have found their places. Women come and stand [562] at a little distance to look on. They must not sit down or join the circle. They never play the hand game.

The fire forms a long narrow line between the sides, fifteen feet long from north to south, only two to three feet wide (see Fig. 1) At the south ends of the lines are two men who function as tarutsius, "fire tenders."

Now the players place their bets. Blankets, shirts, vests, horses are waged on the outcome. Each bets against a friendly enemy of the other side, individual against individual. The two articles are tied together, making one bundle. The bundles are thrown down in one heap before the leaders. The winning side will carry off the whole pile of plunder, and each winning player takes from it his individual stake and his winning.

The leader of the Kitkahaxki[x] party begins to speak,

"Brother, I thought of coming to see you for the hand game. 619 Well, my brother, we are here. I've brought this pipe for you. 525 I want you to accept it to smoke."

276 He rises. He takes the filled pipe to the fire and lights it with 788 a brand. He draws a few puffs himself, then, standing before Knifechief, the Skiri leader in the game, gives him the pipe to smoke without releasing it, then takes it to his left and lets the assistant leader on the Kitkahaxki[x] side take a few puffs. Then he carries it back to Knifechief, gives it to him, and sits down in his own place.

Knifechief smokes and then passes the pipe to the Skiri at his left, and from him it is passed on down the Skiri side from north to south. Each one smokes and passes it on. By the time it reaches the tarutsius of the Skiri side it is likely to be smoked out. This smoke is a gift of the Kitkahaxki[x] to the Skiri. Except for the two Kitkahaxki[x] leaders, no Kitkahaxki[x] smoke, only the Skiri.

When the pipe has reached the Skiri tarutsius, the Kitkahaxki[x] leader arises, walks around the east side of the fire and receives the pipe back from him. He carries it with him around west of the fire, and stops north of the fire where facing south, he loosens the [782] ashes with a pipe tamper, and twice raises the pipe bowl upward.

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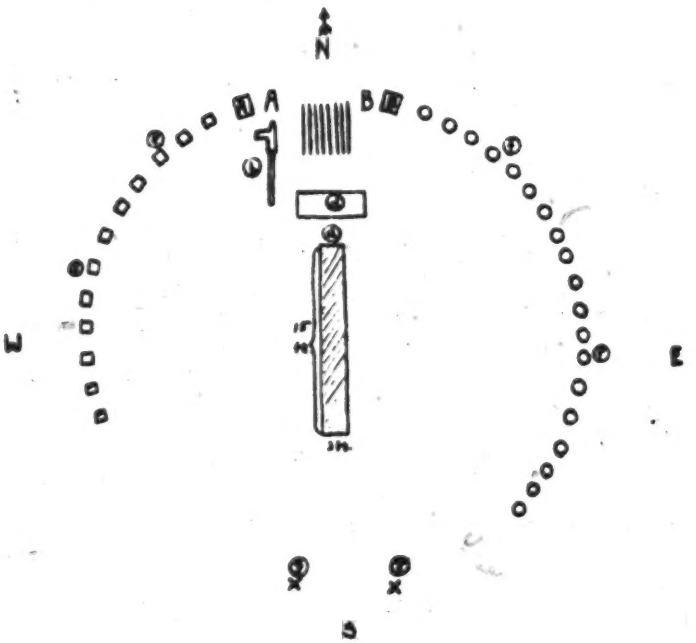

Figure 1. Plan of Game between Kitkahaxki[x] and Skiri

A - Kitkahaxki[x] leader, [A] - Kitkahaxki[x] assistant
B - Skiri leader [B] - Skiri assistant
a - long fire
b - Kitkahaxki[x] pipe in position after smoking
c - tally sticks
d - position of stakes
[e] - Kitkahaxki[x] men (guests)
[f] - Skiri men (hosts)
g x - tarutaius (fire-tenders)

[782]

an offering to heaven, each time emptying some of the ashes on the ground before the fire; then he loosens the ashes a third time and deposits all that remains on the ground, an offering to the earth. Without further motions or gestures he takes the pipe with him to his place and sits down. He now places the pipe on the ground before him, mouthpiece pointing south, bowl turned to the west (see figure 1). He can put the pipe on the ground because now it is empty. Up to the time he began the smoking he had to carry the pipe and hold it in his arms.

The set used by the Skiri consists of eight dogwood sticks and two white bones; these are not decorated in any special way. The Skiri leader Knifechief now announces: 525 619

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are whole tones between B flat and C, and between F and G. A similar melodic form occurs in Nos. 5 and 53. This song is transcribed with the signature of the key of F and classified with songs lacking the third above the keynote. The repetitions of the rhythmic unit are six in number and comprise the entire melody. Slight differences in the note values of the rhythmic unit occur in the latter part of the song.

The tenth obstacle was not encountered by Morning Star until after he entered the lodge of Evening Star. The obstacle was a snake, but he overcame it, as he had overcome the others, by means of the ball of fire and the song.

Evening Star saw that his power was greater than hers, but she determined to hold him aloof as long as possible. Finally she insisted that he make provision for the child that should be born; she even required him to provide perfumed water for bathing the child and a cradle board in which it should be placed. On the hoop, or arch, of this cradle board was painted a morning star and the lightnings, this custom being followed by the Pawnee at the present time. Evening Star also required him to plant a tree in front of the lodge so that the mocking birds might nest there and sing to the child. From this union a daughter was born. She came down to earth and wandered about in fear. As she was running hither and thither she met a boy, the child of Sun and Moon, and these two became the ancestors of the human race.

Morning Star made a bundle and placed in it various articles connected with the obstacles he had overcome on his westward journey. He left this bundle with Evening Star and for that reason a woman has always been the keeper of the sacred bundle. Other articles have been added from time to time and will be noted in this paper.

It is said that Evening Star required a human sacrifice as her reward. This sacrifice must be a pure and beautiful maiden and she demanded that the sacrifice be repeated annually. Long ago, Morning Star sometimes appeared to a man in a dream and told him to secure a maiden for this sacrifice. According to Linton, a man who had this vision went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received the warrior's costume and the sacred objects kept for such an expedition. Other warriors joined him and, preliminary to the expedition, they enacted the journey of the Morning Star, and sang the song with which he overcame the obstacles placed in his way. (Cf. Song No. 1.) When the ceremony ended it was almost time for the Morning Star to rise and the leader went outside the lodge and addressed an invocation to him. After dancing furiously around their fire and offering a last prayer to Morning Star the warriors started forth and captured a maiden from the enemy. Returning, they gave

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her into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village until the time for her sacrifice. She was treated in a ceremonial manner but kept in ignorance of her fate. At the appointed time her body was painted, half red and half black, and she was tied to a scaffold and shot through the heart with an arrow. It was said that the braided thong used to bind the girl to the scaffold is now in the Morning Star bundle.

Tradition states that on one occasion the intended victim was rescued. On the night preceding her execution she was seated beside some tall sunflowers. A young chief came through the tall weeds and stole her away, putting her on his horse and taking her to Fort Leavenworth, whence she was returned to her own people. She died within three months, having been anointed for death with the sacred ointment of red paint powder and buffalo fat. This occurred about the year 1818. The man who rescued the intended victim was a warrior of distinction and through his influence the custom was discontinued. The ritual of the sacrifice is still rendered but no actual sacrifice has taken place since that date.

Coming Sun, who sings the ceremonial songs, said that sometimes, during the Morning Star ceremony he stops and says "Listen," and the people hear a woman's voice singing the songs above his head.

The Morning Star ceremony was held by the Skidi Band near Pawnee, Okla., on April 17, 1920. This ceremony formerly lasted four days and nights, ending when the morning star appeared in the east, but at the present time it is concluded in one day. On this occasion the writer had the honor of entering the lodge, through the courtesy of Coming Sun. It is said that only one other white person, Dr. G. A. Dorsey, has entered the lodge during the ceremony and seen the contents of the sacred bundle.

The ceremony was held in a tipi erected for the occasion in a quiet spot near the house of the keeper of the bundle, north of Pawnee. This tipi had been used in the Ghost dance and was decorated with Ghost dance symbols. (Pl. 5, *b*.) The adjacent landscape is shown in Plate 3, *c*. The ceremony began at about 9 a. m. and continued until 4 p. m., the writer sitting outside the tipi except for the brief time she was permitted to enter. Thus the entire songs of the ceremony were heard, as well as the prayers and rituals, though only the principal song was obtained. At the proper time Coming Sun, who was in charge of the ceremony, sent a messenger to summon the writer and she entered the lodge, passing to the right and standing near the bundle, before which she laid gifts of calico, tobacco, and money. Coming Sun was seated back of the bundle, directly opposite the entrance, and held one of the sacred gourd rattles. Two men at either side of him held similar rattles. In front of the men at Coming Sun's left and next the sacred bundle was a belt decorated

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The first gathering was attended by about 200 Indians and the building was closely packed at the second gathering, those unable to gain admission being crowded around the windows and door.

The Pawnee Tribe was represented in the United States Army by 40 young men, all except one of whom returned in full health and vigor. One of the Pawnee soldiers died from disease in France. None were wounded, although many saw hard service at the front. Several were with the Rainbow Division, and on one occasion when there was a call for volunteers for dangerous service four Pawnee stepped forward and were accepted. One of these men brought back a German helmet as a trophy and his mother carried it in the victory dance as a scalp was carried in former times. The helmet was fastened to a pole at the top of which a captured knife was fastened like the point of a lance. A Pawnee said: "While the boys were away we prayed for their safe return. We did this at every public gathering and it looks as though our prayers had been answered."

The dance on June 6 was the rejoicing of the tribe and that on the day following was more formal, being attended by many white persons from the town of Pawnee. At the first dance the soldiers were honored by their families and friends, especially by the women, about 45 of whom were in the circle. It was a time of general rejoicing, sometimes three persons being on their feet at the same time, singing, narrating some incident, or giving a gift. Old war songs were sung with new words appropriate to the occasion. For example, one man had composed words which mentioned airplanes and submarines, these words being sung to an old tune. A woman had composed two similar songs, and, crossing the circle, she stood in front of the chief (James R. Murie) and sang them alone, without the drum. Throughout the entire afternoon there were frequent repetitions of the shrill, quavering cry with which the Indian women express pleasure or approval.

Two of the most interesting songs heard on this occasion had their origin in two dreams by John Luwak. The melody of the two was the same, but the words referred to different dreams. Luwak, who speaks no English, said that his friends translated to him the newspaper accounts of the war and that he "felt badly that our boys must cross the ocean and suffer so much." So he prayed daily to Tirawa, saying, "Help our boys over there, so they will all come back strong and let me live to see them again." One night he fell asleep, after such a prayer, and "in his sleep someone told him that it would not be long before he would see the Pawnee boys again." He dreamed, and in his dream he saw thousands of white people and heard them sing this song. They were very happy and were dancing and waving flags; even the oldest people were dancing.

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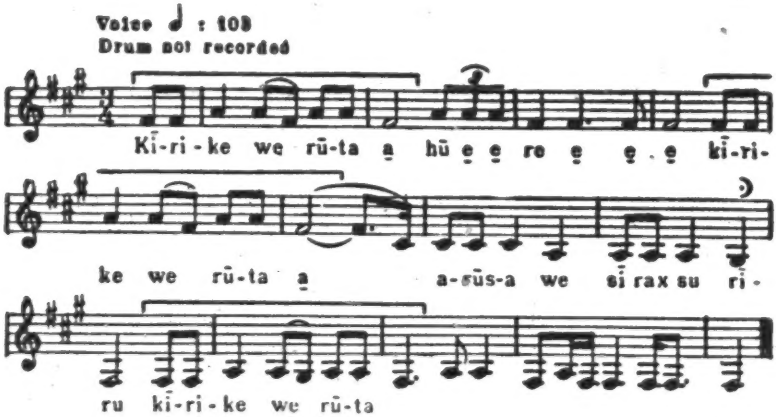
No. 78. "You Need Not Fear the Horse"

(Catalogue No. 1079) 533*

Recorded by EFFIE BLAIN



Kĭrike	we	rūta	hū	re	kĭrike
What	now these	coming	yonder	these	what
we	rūta	arūsa	we	si	rax
now these	coming	horse	now these	it	you
su	rĭru	kĭrike	we	rūta	
it	afraid	what	now these	coming	

FREE TRANSLATION

What are those that come?
Those yonder, what are those that come?
The horse, you fear it,
What are those that come?

Analysis.—No change of measure length occurs in this song and the count divisions are chiefly quarter and eighth notes. The rhythmic unit is well defined and the six renditions are uniform in every respect. The minor triad and second constitute the tone material, and four-fifths of the intervals are minor thirds.

A man once volunteered to follow a war party and had gone only about halfway to the place of fighting when he met the warriors returning. He was one of the poorest men in all the four bands of the Pawnee. Passing through a deserted camp of his people he saw, by the circles of buffalo skulls, that offerings had been made to 533* 782 556

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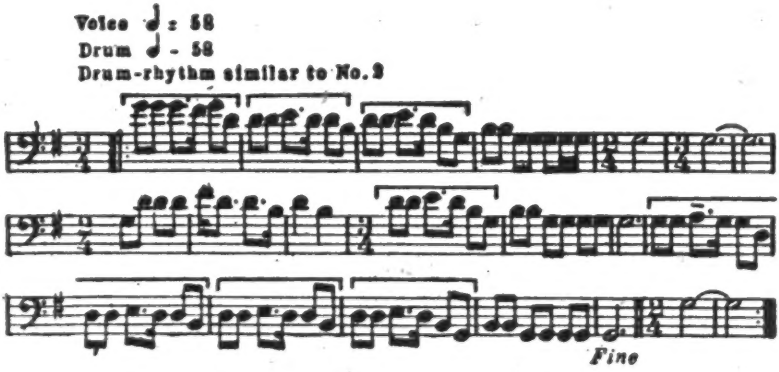
*533 Tirawa. He therefore prayed that Tirawa would help him get
●782 a horse so that he could kill some buffalo. His prayer was answered,
556 and he became a very rich man. This is the song in which he offered his prayer.

*533 **No. 79. A Poor Man's Prayer** (Catalogue No. 1127)

Recorded by JOHN LUWAK



Analysis.—A compass of two octaves characterizes this song, although only two of its intervals are larger than a major third. The lowest tone was distinctly sung. Two-thirds of the progressions are downward and the rhythmic unit is continued throughout the melody. The rhythm was steadily maintained in the three renditions but there was some variance in the intonation.

*533 Only one song was recorded by Mrs. Good Eagle (pl. 2, *c*), who
787 was hostess at a hand game attended by the writer. In explanation of the song she said, "I was sick and lay with my face toward the east. As I lay there I saw a man with his face whitened with clay, wearing a robe and leggings of buffalo hide. He was walking toward the west and singing this song. When I heard it I knew that I would get well."

*533 *Analysis.*—The ascending octave at the beginning of this song was given accurately in all the renditions. The octave forms the boundary of the melody except for the lower tone at the close, and C is regarded as the keynote, although the third above that tone does not occur. The sustained tones were the same duration in all the renditions. It is interesting to note that these tones usually contain an uneven number of counts. The same has been noted in prolonged tones occurring in songs of this and other tribes.

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When the little boy was about half-grown he heard that a war party was to start. He told his mother that he wanted to go, and he wanted her and his grandmother to make him some moccasins. He also wanted arrows, a bow and a quiver, and all the equipment of a warrior. When the old man heard this he called the boy and said, "Do you realize what you are doing?"

"Yes, I am grown to be a man."

"Do you have dreams at night?"

"Yes."

"Can you relate some of them?"

"Yes."

"Tell one to me."

"In my dream I was with a war party. I found myself coming toward home through deep snow."

"That is enough," said the old man. "You can go."

The women had sent the boy to his grandfather, thinking he would keep him at home, and they were greatly surprised to learn that the grandfather had told the boy to go with the warriors. It was fall when the war party started. As winter was coming near it was noised through the camp that all the war party had been killed and the people began to mourn. The women of this family mourned exceedingly and cut their flesh with knives, but the old man sat and laughed at them, or smoked his pipe. This went on for about 10 days. Then his wife said, "You did not care for our grandchild," and his daughter said, "Why do you not mourn?" The old man said to his wife, "You remember that you turned the boy over to me when he wanted to go to war. You made moccasins for him and filled his quiver with arrows. I questioned him and found that he had had a dream in which he was returning alone through deep snow. That dream will come true. He is coming home, so I want you all to stop mourning."

They would not believe him, but one day, after a snow, some people going out from the village met the young man returning. He said, "All the warriors were killed except myself."

The man rode back and cried through the village, "Sariitsaris' grandchild is coming through the deep snow."

Everyone in the lodge was excited, except the old man. He did not rush out to meet his grandson. The women urged him to go, but he said, "He is coming; never mind."

When the young man entered the lodge his grandfather said, "Sit on my knees." The old man passed his hands downward over the young man's head and body in the tribal manner of "blessing," and said, "I believed in your dream and now you are here."

Then he told him to sit yonder and said, "I ask you—when attacked, did you hide in a ravine? When you were a little boy and cooled my

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778 come. While all these bundles had their individualities, they had certain ceremonies in common: thus at the sound of the first thunder in spring, [782] the keeper of each bundle must immediately open it with the proper procedure and make an offering of dried buffalo meat to the powers in the west.[1] This offering is burned, but after the ceremony the remaining meat is cooked and served.

184 As to how far this applied to the other divisions of the Pawnee, cannot be determined for they have not preserved their bundles and rituals to the 778 same extent as have the Skidí. The Chauí are known to have had three bundles, the Pítahauírata, two; but those of the Kit'kahákxki passed out so long ago that no definite number can be enumerated. The rituals of all these bundles were seemingly different from those of the Skidí in that so far as we know they did not have the regular thunder ceremony, but consecrated the bundles to certain animals. It is not known for certain if the sacred ears of corn were kept in these bundles as in those of the Skidí, but there are some reasons for believing that they were.

103 In the Skidí scheme there were thirteen villages, each of which had a 361 bundle:—

631 1 Tu^{h}rikaku^{h}, center village; the Evening Star bundle.

778 2 Kitkahapaku^{h}tu, old village; the four leading bundles are kept in this village.

3 Tu^{h}hitspiat, stretching out in the bottom lands.

4 Tu^{h}kitskita, village on branch of a river.

5 Tu^{h}wahukasa, village stretching across a hill; the Morningstar bundle. (This bundle was finally divided into two.)

6 Arikararikuchu, big antlered elk standing.

7 Arikarariki^{h}, small antlered elk standing.

8 Tu^{h}huchaku, village in a ravine; the left hand bundle, all use left hands in the ceremony.

9 Tu^{h}warakaku, village in thick timber.

10 Akapaxsawa, skull painted on tipi.

11 Skisa rikus, fish hawk.

12 Stixkautit, black ear of corn.

13 Turawi, part of a village.

631 These thirteen villages were organized or federated under this bundle 778 scheme and so had a common government. The supreme, or original

[821] [1] The Evening Star (calf bundle) is the chief power in the west. Four other stars in the west represent the clouds, thunders, lightning, and the winds, or the four leading bundles. These four stars are supposedly sitting in the west, acting as priests. They are sitting there with a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat; also, they are sitting with a hill of corn, the stalks always green, and a place in front of them as the altar.

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MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly responsible. 776 825

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of consecrating buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were ceremonial and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies. 292 796

Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires. 224

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme. Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a circular or any definite camp form was observed. 361

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social intercourse. The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. The chief called on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidi volume, 185.) 622 756 782 [565] [773]

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847 women. Occasionally an unmarried woman, to conceal the evidence of her pregnancy, would attempt to induce abortion by pressure upon her abdomen.

302 842 831 753 Both sexes plucked the hair from about the genitalia; this hair was always tied up and buried. It was considered unclean and could not be burned, for it would thereby be offered to the deities. Should any of the hair be burned, the offender on having connection would become ill, sores would break out, and death might ensue. Barren women were supposed to have broken this taboo.

NAMES

553 During his lifetime, a Pawnee probably bore four or five names, if not more. Shortly after its birth, a child was given a name by the midwife. This was determined by some physical feature of the baby or by some trait which its actions might suggest. The name was retained for a number of months or possibly even several years. 727 789 As a rule the return of the father from a victorious war party with scalps to offer as a sacrifice was made the occasion for bestowing on the child a new name, which was given in the most formal manner. This second name was usually kept until after marriage, though if the parents believed it to be unlucky or if the boy or girl did some meritorious deed, a third name could be given. Then shortly after marriage, an individual was given another name by the father. This name could be retained indefinitely, or could also be changed after the performance of a deed of valor or bravery, or because a relative wished to transmit a name which had already proved desirable.

There were still other occasions on which names were changed. Often a man on the warpath took a new name, believing that it would contribute to the success of the expedition. In addition, the following two accounts are presented for the light they throw on the formation of new names.

726 553 159 538 "When I was a young man, before I had gone on the warpath, our village at Fremont was attacked by the Sioux. The four bands of Pawnee were at this time together at Fremont. I took the best horse we had and went into the battle. In the battle one man between the two lines was shot. I rode up, and as I jumped off my pony I was hit right under my bladder. The man jumped upon my pony and rode away while I was left on the ground to die. After the battle my people picked me up and carried me home. When I came to I found that I was in my lodge lying on a robe and the Buffalo Medicine-men were waiting on me. I closed my eyes

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and thought that I was dead but found afterwards that I was only asleep. In my sleep, I saw a buffalo bull sitting by the water's edge waving his tongue in the water. As I went up to him I saw that he was watching me. He spoke to me and said: 'My son, you are wounded, but you are not going to die; I shall take care of you.' When I regained consciousness, I was feeling sick. I wanted to vomit. I vomited a lump of white stuff. The medicine-men cut it open, and there was a piece of strouding inside it. This was a piece that had been shot into me from my breech cloth. I soon became well. Then I took the name of Buffalo-waving-its-Mouth-in-Water."

"There was a young man who had never been on the warpath, but was always making fun of other young men who came back from the warpath without any ponies or scalps. This young man made up his mind one day that he would go on the warpath. So he sat down in his lodge and invited a few of his friends. He told them that he was thinking about going on the warpath, and if they wanted to go he would like to go with them. The young men all said they would go. The young man kept the others in his lodge all day and all night. Just before sunrise they started out. They travelled far and a little before noon they stopped in a hollow, and the young man selected scouts and sent them out. The scouts came back and reported that there was a war-party close by, that the men were holding some kind of a council, and that their ponies were not very close. The young man gave instructions for every one to get ready. They walked along the ravines until they came to the ponies, which they captured and mounted. Then they attacked the enemy while they were holding council. The boys killed several of the enemy and drove the others away, came back and took scalps, and then returned home. They set the prairies afire, took the charred grass and put it upon their faces and bodies. They were received by the people and the boy told the old men that he had taken a scalp, which he wanted to offer to the gods, and that he wanted his name changed. So the scalp was offered to the gods, and his name was changed to Noon, for he said: 'By noon time I had captured the enemy's ponies, killed several men, and taken their scalps, so I shall be known as Noon-Day Man.'"

CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

The usual period of nursing was about three years; if a woman nursed a child for a longer time other women would make fun of her. Children were told by their mothers to bury their milk teeth,

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and obtain a scalp. This was carried home to the village on a pole, and scalp dances were inaugurated. The scalp was consecrated to one of the deities of the heavens, and the man who had taken it wrapped a piece of it in a small buckskin sack with tobacco. This was tied to a long stick representing an arrow and thrust into the grave. Another small piece of the scalp was burned upon the grave.

The name of a dead person could not be mentioned during the mourning period. If anyone mentioned the name of an individual who had been killed in war, it was thought that he would probably suffer the same fate as the person killed.

Reference has been made to the fact that personal belongings were buried with the dead. However, there were certain exceptions to this practice. Personal war bundles containing meteorites or any objects supposed to have had their origin in the heavens were not buried. This was in accordance with the belief that these objects belonged in the heavens and not in the ground. Hence, when an individual possessing such objects died, and if the relatives did not want them, the bundle was unwrapped and the objects were placed on a high hill, whence they returned to the heavens. Such objects were supposed to be the children of stars, watched over by them, and it was believed that when people had no further use for these "children," they would return to their parents in the sky. Also, if a medicine-man died during the time he was giving instruction to his son, his medicine bundle was retained for the boy's use when he became of age.

A further illustration of the burial of belongings with the dead is contained in the following incident. A Skidi chief's daughter died. The father had received calumet pipe sticks from the Chaui band, and his daughter had participated in the ceremony accompanying the gift. Her death followed shortly after the ceremony and was attributed to the belief that the ceremony had not been properly performed. Consequently, over her grave her father placed the pipe sticks, oriole's nest, wildcat skin, gourd rattles, and tobacco bag that comprised the special objects used in the ceremony. That year drought prevailed, the crops withered, buffalo could not be found, and the Skidi were forced to depend on their cache reserves. The Chaui priest who had originally brought the pipe sticks visited the Skidi, and with the chief to whom he had presented them, went to the grave, removed the ceremonial objects, wrapped them in a bundle, and taking the earth from over the body, placed the bundle next to it. He then re-filled the grave. Shortly after, there

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776 transmitted the mandates of Tirawa to the people upon earth. From her union with the god of next rank, the Morning Star, Opirikata, sprang the first being upon earth.

The Morning Star seems to have been a personification of the Male, as the Evening Star was of the female principle. He was conceived of as a warrior who drove the other stars before him from the sky. It was [782] to him that the Skidi band offered a human sacrifice.

Next in rank to the Evening and Morning Stars were the gods of the four world-quarters, who stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest, and supported the heavens. To them Tirawa gave the task of dividing up the earth into the divisions which we find at present. Next in rank to these were the three gods of the north,—the North Star, who presided over the council of the stars, and who gave the ceremony for the creation of chiefs to men; the North Wind, who sent men the buffalo, and Hikus, who gave the breath of life. Below these in turn were the Sun and Moon, from whose union had sprung the second being on earth who, mating with the offspring of the Morning and Evening Stars, produced the human race.

There were a number of minor heavenly gods,—the second Morning Star, who assisted the Morning Star, the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star, who was the special god of medicine-men, the Star of the South, who stood at the southern end of the Milky Way and received the spirits of the dead, Skiritiuhuts ("Fool-Wolf"), who felt slighted in the councils of the gods, and, who, in revenge, introduced death into the world, and several others.

The greater part of the heavenly gods were iden- [778 tified with stars. The sacred bundle of each village 361] was believed to have been given to its ancestor by one of these heavenly beings; and when the villages of the

and therefore constituted a link between the people and its divine giver. In the ceremonies connected with these bundles two ideas were basic,—one the idea of a sacrifice or offering, and the other that of a repetition, either through dramatization or ritual, of the acts performed by the divine giver. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star combined both ideas to an unusual degree.

The Morning Star sacrifice was performed only by the Skidi band of the Pawnee. There seems good evidence that it was carried out somewhat unwillingly, and that the officiating priests always found it a sore trial. Its performance was considered a religious duty, and this ceremony must not be confused with the torturing of captives as practised by several of the eastern tribes. The opposition to the sacrifice within the tribe itself increased until in about 1818 a young man, named Petahlayshahrho, rescued the victim in dramatic fashion, untying her from the scaffold at the moment of sacrifice and riding away with her. When safe, he gave her a horse, and sent her back to her own people. He then returned and declared that human sacrifices must cease. As he was a distinguished warrior and the son of the chief's sister, which according to the Pawnee system gave him the hereditary right to succeed his uncle, many strong men in the tribe supported his action. After this time, the ritual of the sacrifice was still regularly performed as a formal matter, but no actual sacrifices are known to have taken place.

The actual time of the performance of the sacrifice is not fully known, but it seems to have been made in the late spring or summer of years when Mars was morning star. It was usually made as the result of a dream or vision in which the Morning Star appeared to some warrior and demanded it, but it might also be

721 tume and sacred objects kept in the bundle for such
796 expeditions. Many warriors usually volunteered to go with him, for it was thought that the object of the expedition insured its success.

726 When the party had assembled, they set out for the
796 country of the enemy, sending scouts constantly in advance. If they killed any game on the way, they offered part of it to the Morning Star to remind him that they were on his business. The leader carried the sacred objects from the Morning Star bundle on his back.

When the scouts returned with word that they had found an enemy village, the party retired to some sheltered place and prepared for a ceremony. A circle was cleared, and a fireplace excavated as for a lodge. The leader then opened his pack and put on the sacred warrior's costume, and laid out the other objects to the west of the fireplace. A fire was kindled, and smoke offered to the heavenly gods. All then sang a song symbolizing the overcoming of the Evening Star by the Morning Star and how, from their union, a girl was born. In the course of this song the leader rose and circled the fireplace, acting in pantomime the journey of the Morning Star. At its conclusion he passed out of the circle, and standing facing the east addressed the Morning Star as follows: "I am praying to you as you directed, and we are seeking a sacrifice as you wished. I ask you to show yourself." In answer to this prayer the star was thought to shine with brighter light. The leader then addressed his party thus:—

"Warriors, young men, we are now sitting in a place dedicated to the Morning Star. We are about to sing the song that the Morning Star himself sang when he was in search of a woman, who put obstacles in his way. I want you all to dance with all your might and to be brave. Whoever shall be so lucky as to catch

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the girl must call her Opirikuts as he touches her. Others must move away and not touch her. The life of anyone who touches her afterward will be in danger. Everyone must now dance toward the center. Let the fire be like the enemy." 726 796

All then sang a song symbolizing the obstacles overcome by the Morning Star, the refrain being, "This is the way I did when I became angry." A red-painted stick like those used in the Thunder Ceremony had meanwhile been prepared, and this was now offered to the Morning Star by the leader with the words, "See, I offer you only this stick with tobacco. It is all I have. Help me to obtain a real sacrifice." [533] [539] [782]

By the end of this ceremony it was almost time for the Morning Star to rise, and the leader went outside the circle to the east and addressed a long invocation to him. He then returned, and all put on their war paint and ornaments. A fourth song was then sung in which four of the great heavenly spirits were called upon to give the warriors their powers. As they sang, the warriors danced around the fire, leaping upward and giving their war cries, while the leader ran about encouraging them to dance harder. At the end of the dance the leader made a last prayer to the Morning Star, and all set out for the village. [533] [539] [535]

The war party surrounded the village quietly. The leader, who at this time was considered a personification of the Morning Star, took his post to the east, with his back to the village, while a second man took his place at the southeast, and was directed to howl like a wolf, as soon as the Morning Star rose. As soon as his call was heard, the leader turned toward the village, and the attack began from all sides. The first man to capture a young woman touched her and called out, "I pronounce you Opirikuts." As soon as this was done, the attackers drew off and started toward home.

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727 The word Opirikuts was both a dedication and a
796 curse. As applied to the destined sacrifice, it was the
782 former, and protected her from any mistreatment. From the moment it was pronounced she was sacred to the Morning Star, and any one touching her would die as from an infection. She was turned over by her captor to the leader and the man who had howled like a wolf, who represented respectively the Morning Star and another star called Fools-the-Wolves. These men were responsible for her until the arrival of the party at the home village.

When the party had arrived at the Pawnee camp, the girl was given into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village. Several months sometimes intervened between the time of her capture and that of the sacrifice, and during this time she was well fed and made as happy and comfortable as possible. It was forbidden, however, to give her any new clothing, as the giver would thereby become Opirikuts also and die. She was fed with a bowl and spoon kept in the Morning Star bundle for the purpose, and no one else might use these. If a man deliberately broke one of these taboos and died, he was thought to have taken the girl's place as a sacrifice, and she was released and sent back to her own people. If she escaped, it was thought a sign that the Morning Star had rejected her, and she was not pursued.

796 When the proper season for the sacrifice had arrived, the chief of the Morning Star village had all the furniture removed from the interior of his lodge and sent two errand men to summon the participants in the ceremony. The priest of the village came, bringing his sacred bundle, and spread out its contents on the west of the lodge to form an altar. With him came his assistant, usually a relative, who would succeed to the office on his death. These men seated themselves be-

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hind the altar. The girl, who was constantly attended by a guardian, was brought in and seated on the south side of the lodge. The chief of the village took his place on the southwest, with the leader of the war party on his left, while the man who had actually captured the girl sat on the northeast. 796

The priest built two little fires of sweet grass, one to the east, and the other to the west of the fireplace. The girl was taken to the eastern fire, undressed, and her body bathed in the smoke. Her guardian then painted her whole body red and dressed her in a black skirt and robe which were kept in the sacred bundle between sacrifices. The man who had captured the girl then went to the altar, and was dressed by the priest in another costume, also kept in the bundle. He was given black leggings and moccasins, his face and hair were painted red, and a fan-shaped head-dress of twelve eagle feathers was attached to his hair in such a way that it stood out straight over the back of his head at right angles to his body. This was the costume in which the Morning Star usually appeared in visions, and with its assumption the captor seems to have become a personification of that deity. 727 782 796 [302] [302] [776] [787]

After these ceremonies had been performed, the captor left the lodge and passed through the village, entering every lodge and warning those who were to take part in the ceremony to come to the chief's lodge. Each family gave him a little red and black paint and certain other objects which were needed in the ceremony. When he had completed the circuit, he returned to the chief's lodge, and errand men were sent out to invite the chiefs and priests of all the villages to come to the ceremony. The Pawnee village was a social as well as a geographical unit. Several villages might live together. Each of the priests and chiefs had his prescribed place in the circle, while the space 796 [361] [621]

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796 behind them was [illegible] with spectators. So great was the eagerness of [illegible]ple to see the ceremony that many of them tore [illegible]es in the roof and walls of the lodge, leaving it a complete wreck.

793 When all the invited guests had taken their places,
796 the chief priest told the priests of the Four Direction bundles to go into the woods and bring back four thick
[824] poles about twelve feet long. The priest of the northeast was to bring an elm; he of the northwest, a box elder; he of the southwest, a cottonwood; and he of the
796 southeast, a willow. When they had returned, the four poles were laid on the fireplace with their ends together so that they formed a cross whose arms pointed to the four directions. The poles had to be long enough to last for the entire four days of the ceremony, and as they burned, they were pushed in toward the center, the cross being always maintained.

The ceremonies which followed are not fully known, but they consisted of many songs and dances, with feasting, and continued for three days and nights.
[786] During this time, and for the three days after the slaying of the sacrifice, the ordinary rules of conduct were set aside, and the priests announced to the people that if any man approached any woman during this period, she was to go with him willingly, that the tribe might increase.

727 Toward morning of each night, the representative
● 782 of the northeast village danced around the fireplace,
796 and taking the pole brought by the priest of that direction, pointed its glowing end toward the girl's body. This was repeated by the representative of the other directions in turn, but the girl's body was never touched with the brand. Indeed, the girl was treated with the greatest respect and consideration throughout the ceremony. She was told that the entire performance was given in her honor, and everything was done to lull

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her suspicions and keep her in a pleasant frame of mind.

On the afternoon of the fourth day, the chief priest selected four men from the Four Band village to secure the materials for the scaffold. Under the direction of the leader of the war party which had captured the girl, they went to the nearest thick timber and searched until they found a hackberry tree near the center of the grove. At this tree they made an offering of smoke to the gods, and then went northeast from it to find an elm, northwest to find a box elder, southwest to find a cotton wood, and southeast to find a willow. These were to serve for the lower cross-bars of the scaffold. They then went east until they found an elm and a cottonwood large enough to be used as uprights. Finally, they went west and cut a willow to serve as the top cross-bar.

When the men had departed to search for the timber, the priests sang a song describing their actions. At its conclusion the chief priest sent the two chiefs of the Morning Star village, accompanied by a warrior, to select the site of the scaffold. This had to be some place near the village which had, to the east of it, a depression or ravine large enough to conceal several men. When the chiefs had made their choice, the warrior accompanying them gave his war-cry. An errand man had been stationed outside the lodge to listen for this, and as soon as he heard and reported it, the priest of the Skull bundle ran to the place, bearing the sacred bow and two arrows. The two chiefs had stationed themselves at the points where the uprights of the scaffold were to stand, and the priest shot an arrow into the ground in front of each of them, thus marking the place where the hole was to be dug. Between these arrows four priests then dug away the soil to a depth of about a foot, making a rectangular pit ap-

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proximately the size of the wrapper of a sacred bundle when fully unfolded. The floor of the excavation was then covered with white, downy feathers. This pit was called *kusaru*, and represented the garden which the Evening Star kept in the west, or, according to another account, the reproductive organs of the Evening Star. The white feathers with which it was lined symbolized the milk of women and animals and the juice of young corn. After the pit had been completed, the holes for the uprights of the scaffold were dug by two young girls.

While the digging was going on, the party sent after the timbers had returned. The two uprights of the scaffold were first erected, then each cross-bar was tied on by a warrior from the village of the direction which it represented. Before tying it, the warrior would recount some deed. One would say, "I made a sacrifice of meat and carried it to the priest on my back. After the ceremony was performed, the priest whispered to me, 'You, young man, have brought meat here by means of the pack string. You will have an opportunity before the summer is over to lasso a pony in the enemy's country. The gods now know you. Do not fear to go on the war path.' I went. We found a village, and others became afraid and ran. I went east by myself and found the enemy's horses. I went among them and found one with an eagle-wing fan tied to its tail. I captured it and rode home. Since then I have made many sacrifices." The top cross-bar was tied by two men each of whom had made a sacrifice, but these did not recount any adventures in war.

It is probable that the scaffold was also painted at this time, although the ceremonies connected with the painting are not remembered. The two uprights were painted red and black, the former symbolizing day, and the latter, night. The lowest cross-bar was

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black, and symbolized the northeast; and its animal guardian, the bear. The second was red, symbolizing the southeast and the wolf. The third was yellow, symbolizing the northwest and the mountain lion; and the fourth white, symbolizing the southwest and the wildcat. The top cross-bar represented the west, and was painted blue or black and white, symbolizing clouds and rain.

By the time the scaffold was completed, it was about sunset, and the people dispersed. All spectators were sent out of the lodge, and the door was closed. The chief priest then drew upon the floor of the lodge four circles, one for each of the world quarters, and outlined them with white downy feathers. Each of these circles represented a region penetrated by the Morning Star in his search for the Evening Star and also the magic animal which he had overcome there. The white feathers symbolized the foam about their mouths when they attacked him. When the circles had been made, the spectators were re-admitted, and the priests sang a song descriptive of the journey of the Morning Star, while the chief priest danced around the lodge with a war club, destroying the circles one by one. When the song was finished, he straightened up and said, "Chiefs, priests, warriors, old men, I have destroyed the regions once controlled by the mysterious woman who wanted darkness forever. These animals were under her control, when the Morning Star traveled in darkness looking for her. She placed an obstacle in the southeast, which was controlled by the wolf. The Morning Star destroyed this obstacle, but preserved the mysterious animal. He continued his journey, traveled to the southwest, and again met an obstacle which he destroyed, but preserved the animal, a wildcat. He continued his journey, and when he came to the northwest, he again met an obstacle. He des-

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796 troyed it, but preserved the animal, a mountain lion.
773 He went on to the northeast, and again destroyed an obstacle, but preserved its guardian, the bear. In the center of the earth in darkness he found the woman, conquered her, touched her with his war club, and turned her into the earth. The Morning Star then called the mysterious animals to him and said, "You beings are now under my control. Stand in the places where I found you, and watch over the people who shall be placed upon the earth and guard them. All powers you have you shall keep. You shall exist as long as the earth lasts. You are now placed as upright posts so that you will always hold up the heavens. Priests, chiefs, warriors, old men, I have this night followed the journey of the Morning Star. We will not forget these beings which he placed in the four directions, for he promised that they should partake of all offerings which the people made to the heavens. Let us begin singing the songs given to us by Mother White Star in the west (the Evening Star)."

533 When the chief priest had finished his speech, all
796 began to sing the prescribed songs, resting and smok-
• 782 ing informally after each. Like most ceremonial songs, these were long, with many repetitions, and were often
[211] obscure in meaning. As each song was finished, a tally stick, taken from a bunch kept in the sacred bundle, was laid down. The idea underlying this part of the ritual seems to have been that the girl at first belonged to the people and to the world of human affairs, but that, as each song was sung, she became more removed from them until, when the last tally was laid down, she had been won from the people, like a prize in a game, and belonged to the gods.

The singing usually lasted until about two hours
727 before dawn. A priest then climbed on the roof of the
782 lodge and announced to the people that the girl was
796

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
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about to be prepared for the sacrifice, and that it was time for everyone to set out for the scaffold. The chief priest undressed the girl, went through the motions of washing her and combing her hair, and painted the right half of her body red and the left half black. Her skirt was then replaced, black moccasins were put on her feet, and a black robe fastened around her shoulders. Lastly a head-dress of twelve black-tipped eagle feathers, arranged like a fan, was fastened on her head.

When the girl had been dressed, all resumed their seats and sang another song at the conclusion of which she was told to rise; and two men, chosen to lead her to the scaffold, came forward and placed thongs around her wrists. All then passed out of the lodge, with the girl in the lead and the priests following behind chanting.

The rate at which the procession moved toward the scaffold depended largely upon the disposition of the girl. Everything was done to conceal the truth from her, and force was not used unless absolutely necessary. If she mounted the scaffold of her own free will, it was considered an especially auspicious omen. The procession was timed to reach the scaffold a few minutes before the Morning Star rose, so that the men who tied her to it could complete their work and leave her alone when the star appeared.

While the girl was being tied to the scaffold, the men chosen for the last rites had assembled in the ravine to the east of it, where they were concealed from her view. A small fire was kindled there, and they prepared their paraphernalia. At the moment the Morning Star appeared, two men came forward bearing firebrands. They were dressed as priests, and had owl skins hung from their necks, showing that they represented the messengers of the Morning Star.

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727 They took their places on either side of the girl, and
782 with their brands touched her lightly in the groin and
796 armpit. They then returned to the ravine, and a third man ran out, carrying the bow from the Skull bundle and a sacred arrow made for the sacrifice. As he came, he gave his war cry, and the people called to him and encouraged him as though he was attacking an enemy. Coming close to the girl, he sent his arrow through her heart, and ran back to the ravine. This part was usually taken by the man who had captured her. A fourth man then came forward with the club from the Morning Star bundle and struck the girl on the head.

A fire had been kindled to the southeast of the scaffold, and as soon as the girl was dead, her guardian came forward with a flint knife, and her captor with the dried heart and tongue of a buffalo. The guardian mounted the scaffold and cut open the body, while the captor held the meat below and caught the blood. The guardian thrust his hand into the thoracic cavity and painted his face with the blood. Sometimes
[266] he is said to have removed her liver and given it to the members of the Bear Medicine Society, who cut it into small pieces and ate it to acquire magical powers. The blood-soaked meat was burned on the fire near the scaffold as an offering to all the gods.

When these rites had been performed, the men among the spectators gave their war cries and crowded forward to shoot arrows into the body. It was thought desirable that as many arrows should be shot as there were males in the tribe, and boys too young to draw a bow were helped by their fathers or mothers. When each man had shot his arrow, the spectators dispersed and returned to the villages where feasting and dancing continued for three days.

782 The priests, the guardian, and those intimately
796

connected with the ceremony remained at the scaffold. 782
When the crowd had gone, the guardian removed the 796
arrows from the body one by one and handed them to an assistant who divided them into four bundles and laid these bundles northeast, northwest, southeast, and southwest of the fireplace. The body was then taken down and carried a short distance to the east of the scaffold, where it was laid face down. The sacred arrow was drawn from its heart and laid upon it. All then returned to the village, and the place was [766] avoided for some time.

It was believed that the soul of the girl left her 775
body at the moment she was struck with the club and 782
went straight to Tirawa, who sent it to the Morning Star. The Morning Star clothed it with flint from his fireplace in the dawn and placed it among the stars in the heavens. Her body was thought to be not like ordinary bodies. Even after her death it possessed life. Things would be born from it, and the earth would be fertilized by it.

The sacrifice as a whole must be considered as a 773
dramatization of the overcoming of the Evening Star 782
by the Morning Star and their subsequent connection, 796
from which sprang all life on earth. The girl upon the scaffold seems to have been conceived of as a personification or embodiment of the Evening Star surrounded by her powers. When she was overcome, the life of the earth was renewed, insuring universal fertility and increase.

Human sacrifices were rare among the North 171
American Indians. The practice is known to have 782
existed among the Natchez, who lived in the present state of Mississippi, and possibly in Arizona and New Mexico. In Mexico, on the other hand, the idea was highly developed, and under the Aztec rule large numbers of victims were immolated every year. It may be

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171 significant that several of the practices and concepts
782 connected with the Pawnee sacrifice find Mexican parallels. Early Aztec manuscripts show victims fastened to scaffolds like that used by the Pawnee and shot to death with arrows. In both places the body of the victim was cut open, and the blood offered. The idea that the sacrifice was more acceptable if the victim mounted the scaffold willingly was common to both, together with the still more striking idea that the victim was a personification of a deity. Among the Aztecs this concept reached its highest development, the victim in at least one ceremony being treated as a god for a year before his sacrifice. Finally, in both places there seem to have been astronomical beliefs connected with the sacrifices.

000 This account has been compiled from the unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey and from articles by several other authors.

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which contained red, black, and white paint in little buckskin pouches; sweet grass, a pipe and native tobacco, and the penis bone of a racoon, were also placed in each bundle, all these objects being used in the ceremonies. The sweet grass was burned as incense, and the bone was attached to a stick and used as a fork to remove meat from the pot. Some bundles contained additional objects. 778

When the bundle was not in use, all these articles were done up in an inner and an outer wrapper of buffalo hide and tied with a rope of plaited buffalo-hair. To the outside of the bundle were attached the stems of one or more pipes whose bowls were in the bundle, a few arrows captured from the enemy, and some other objects. The arrows were used as fire pokers and pipe tampers during the ceremonies. In ceremonial smoking it was forbidden to press down the tobacco in the pipe with the finger lest the gods should think that the smoker offered himself to them with the tobacco. Associated with each bundle, and often fastened to it, there were four large gourd rattles of special form. These symbolized the four dieties who were the special guardians of the Evening Star, and also represented the breasts of the two divine women in the west,—the Evening Star and the Moon. [276 782]

Except at the time of ceremonies, the sacred bundle was hung up on the west side of its keeper's lodge, above the buffalo skull which was always placed there. When so hung, it was likened by the Pawnee to a dead man in his grave. The spirit lived in it, but slept. Even when opened, the bundle continued asleep until the Mother-Corn had been placed in it. It then came to life, and during the ceremony the corn and the other objects represented, individually and collectively, supernatural beings. These beliefs of the Pawnee differ considerably from those held by most of the other tribes who used sacred bundles; and Dr. G. A. Dorsey [171]

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171 has concluded that the village bundles of the Pawnee
778 are more nearly comparable to the elaborate altars of the Southwestern Indians than to the medicine bundles of the northern Plains tribes and Central Algonkins.

778 It seems probable that there was originally a special
796 ceremony connected with each bundle. There were additional ceremonies, such as that held when the first thunder was heard in the spring, which might be performed with several bundles in turn, and there were a few rites in which all the bundles participated. The
[783] purification of the sacred bundles belonged to the last class.

778 The purification ceremony was held in the spring
783 and again in the autumn, before the tribe left their permanent villages for the buffalo hunt. It has already been said that the Four Direction village had four sacred bundles. These took the lead in successive years. When the chiefs had decided upon the date for departure on the hunt, they notified the priest of the bundle which was leader in that year. He sent his errand man to summon the priests of the other three bundles. These came to his lodge, bringing their bundles with them. As they entered, they beat their bundles, then crossed to the west side of the lodge, and seated themselves with their bundles in front of them on the ground. The errand man was then sent to summon the keepers of all the other village bundles, directing them to bring their bundles and also mats, pillows, and food-bowls. When these arrived at the lodge, they took designated places around it, spreading their mats on the ground and hanging their bundles, unopened, on the wall behind them.

783 When all had arrived, one of the four priests went through the village announcing the beginning of the ceremony and calling on the people to bring gifts to
● [782] Mother-Corn. These gifts consisted of a robe, moccasins, a hair cord, to be used as a girdle, and dried meat

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and fat. The articles of clothing had to be new and unused, and the meat that of buffalo which had been dedicated to the gods at the time they were killed. The gifts could only be presented by men who were in favor with the gods. If the priests accepted them from men who were evil in their lives or negligent in their religious duties, the gods would be offended and refuse to send the buffalo. Before taking a gift to the lodge, a man painted himself red, so that all the people might know his errand; and, when the gift had been accepted, two messengers went through the village, thanking him publicly.

The priests and bundle keepers remained in the lodge for three days and nights, sleeping in their designated places. No ceremonies seem to have been performed during this period, and they passed the time in talk and in feasting on the food which was brought to them. No women were allowed to enter the lodge during the whole time of the ceremony.

On the morning of the fourth day the priests of the Four Direction bundles rose very early and dug a rectangular pit to the west of the fire-place, between it and the permanent altar of the lodge. The buffalo skull, which at ordinary times stood on this altar, was removed and placed north of the fire-place. The earth from the excavation was taken outside the lodge and piled in a mound before the door. When the pit was finished, the priests carpeted it with white downy feathers. This pit seems to have corresponded to the pit dug below the scaffold at the time of the human sacrifice to the Morning Star and, like it, represented the Evening Star's garden in the west, the source of all earthly fertility and increase.

When the pit had been completed, the priests directed the keepers of the various bundles to open them and take out the Mother-Corn. A sacred stick, kept in the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle, was set up

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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of their value as food sources. Smaller animals, such as rabbits, opossum, raccoon, and squirrel, were also to be had. Ducks, geese, and other waterfowl were plentiful and fish abounded in most of the streams.

All of the major streams carry water the year round, although the Platte during the summer months becomes largely a subterranean river above its junction with the Loup. With the exception of those in the sand hills, the streams flow characteristically in broad, flat alluvial valleys, from 3 to 15 miles wide, and bordered by bluffs up to 250 feet in height. The historic villages were apparently all located in the large river valleys rather than on the small tributary creeks; only the chase, war forays, or migrations seem to have led village tribes such as the Pawnee out upon the interfluvial areas.

It may be noted here that the "sacred places" of the Pawnee, where the *Nahu'rac*, or miraculously endowed animals, met in council, were all associated with the streams. There were five of these, according to Grinnell.[20] One was "at *Pa-hŭk'*, on the south side of the Platte River, opposite the town of Fremont, in Nebraska. The word *Pa-hŭk'* means 'hill island.' Another animal home is under an island in the Platte River, near the town of Central City. It is called by the Pawnee *La-la-wa-koh-ti-to*, meaning 'dark island.' The third of these sacred places is on the Loup Fork, opposite the mouth of the Cedar River, and under a high white cut bank. It is called *Ah-ka-wit-akol*, 'white bank.' Another is on the Solomon River, *Kitz-a-witz-ŭk*, 'water on a bank'; it is called *Pa'howa* sometimes. This is a mound, shaped like a dirt lodge. At the top of the mound, in the middle, is a round hole, in which, down below, can be seen water. At certain times the people gather there and throw into this hole their offerings to *Ti-ra'-wa*, blankets and robes, blue beads, tobacco, eagle feathers, and moccasins. Sometimes, when they are gathered there, the water rises to the top of the hole and flows out, running down the side of the mound into the river. Then the mothers take their little children and sprinkle the water over them and pray to *Ti-ra'-wa* to bless them. The water running out of the hole often carries with it the offerings, and the ground is covered with the old rotten things that have been thrown in. [This clearly refers to the mineral spring now known as Waconda, or Great Spirit, Springs, situated 2½ miles southeast of Cawker City, Mitchell County, Kans.[21]] The fifth place is a hard, smooth, flinty rock, sticking up out of the ground. They call it *Pa-hŭr'*, 'hill that points the way.' In the side of the hill there is a great hole where the *Nahu'rac* hold councils. This hill is in Kansas and can be

[20] 1893, p. 358.
[21] Bailey, 1902, pp. 197–200.

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

monies, which comprised the consecration of the buffalo staves and the buffalo dance, were about to begin. The great dirt lodge was crowded. I pushed my way through the throng of women and boys, who made up the outer circle of spectators, and soon found myself among the men, who made way for me, until I reached a position from which I could see all that was going on within the circle about which they stood.

For several days the priests and the doctors had been preparing for this solemn religious ceremonial. They had fasted long; earnest prayers had been made to *Ti-ra'-wa*, and sacrifices had been offered. Now the twelve buffalo skulls had been arranged on the ground in a half-circle, and near them stood the chiefs and doctors, reverently holding in their hands the buffalo staves and sacred bows and arrows, and other implements of the chase. For a little while they stood silent, with bowed heads, but presently one and then another began to murmur their petitions to *A-ti-us Ti-ra'-wa*, the Spirit Father. At first their voices were low and mumbling, but gradually they became more earnest and lifted their eyes toward heaven. It was impossible to distinguish what each one said, but now and then disjointed sentences reached me. "Father, you are the Ruler—We are poor—Take pity on us—Send us plenty of buffalo, plenty of fat cows—Father, we are your children—help the people—send us plenty of meat so that we may be strong, and our bodies may increase and our flesh grow hard —Father, you see us, listen." As they prayed they moved their hands backward and forward over the implements which they held, and at length reverently deposited them on the ground within the line of buffalo skulls, and then stepped back, still continuing their prayers.

It was a touching sight to witness these men calling upon their God for help. All of them had passed middle life, and some were gray-haired, blind and tottering; but they prayed with a fervor and earnestness that compelled respect. They threw their souls into their prayers, and as a son might entreat his earthly father for some great gift, so they plead with *Ti-ra'-wa*. Their bodies quivered with emotion, and great drops of sweat stood upon their brows. They were thoroughly sincere.

After the last of the articles had been placed upon the ground, their voices grew lower and at length died away. A moment later a

782 Prayers are made to them; sometimes for direct help in time of need,
776 but more often for intercession. Often in the folk-tales it will be seen that when the blessing asked for is some small thing, a prayer is made to the animals (*Na-bu'rac*), but if the petitioners are asking for some great thing, something which is very difficult to grant, then the prayer is made to "One Above," to "The Ruler," that is, to the Supreme Being.

782 Nothing of importance was ever undertaken without a prayer for
776 help, for success. All the serious undertakings of the year, whose
796 success would affect the general welfare, were preceded by religious ceremonies, when all the tribe took part, and prayers were made and sacrifices offered to *Ti-ra'-wa;* and in all lesser enterprises, the individuals who were interested humbled themselves and implored the Divine assistance. A party starting off on the warpath prayed for success and made a burnt offering. Prayer and sacrifice always marked the beginning of the feast, and often its end. Success in their undertakings was acknowledged by grateful offerings to the Ruler. The victorious warrior sometimes sacrificed the scalp torn from the head of his enemy, and this was burned with elaborate ceremonies by the High Priest. He who brought back from a foray many horses, gave one to the priest as a thank-offering to the Ruler. One of the well-known Seven Brothers said to me, "It is our aim, after we have been helped, to give thanks."

The feeling of these Indians toward their God is one of humility and reverence. They do not love him, but they look to him for help at all times. The young are exhorted to humble themselves before him, to pray to him, to look to One Above, to ask help from the Ruler. In the stories which are included in this book the allusions constantly made to *Ti-ra'-wa*—the Supreme Power—the prayers offered and the humility and self-abnegation so often expressed, show faith, profound religious feelings, and great elevation of thought.

114 Among tribal names of North American Indians, none is more familiar to us than Pawnee; yet of no tribe is less known. Frequent allusions to them occur in the writings of early travelers in the West; but only one satisfactory attempt has been made to write a connected history of this family. In the *Magazine of American History* for

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

anything. I have rubbed my hands down over you, so that you shall be as tough as I am. Because my mouth has touched your mouth you shall be made wise." Then he left him, and went away. 539x 773

So this man was the greatest of all warriors, and was brave. He was like a bear. He originated the bear dance which still exists among the tribe of Pawnees. He came to be an old man, and at last died of old age. I suspect the old bear died at the same time.

THE BOY WHO WAS SACRIFICED

THERE was a time, far back, when some people thought that it was good to sacrifice to *Ti-ra'-wa* whatever they had that was most precious to them. The sacrifice of the animal, the burnt offering, has always been made by all the Pawnees; that is one of the things handed down from the ruler. It is very old. The Skidi have always performed the sacrifice of the captive. Each one of these is sacred and solemn, but it is not like giving up something that belongs to you, and that you love. It is a sacrifice, but it does not cost much. 539x 773 782

Many years ago, in the Skidi village on the Loup, there lived a man, who believed that if he sacrificed his son to *Ti-ra'-wa*, it would be a blessing to him. He thought that if he did this thing, perhaps *Ti-ra'-wa* would speak to him face to face, and that he could talk to him just as two people would talk to one another, and that in this way would learn many things that other people did not understand. His child was a nice boy about ten years old, strong, growing up well, and the man loved him. It made him feel badly to think of killing him. He meditated long about this, but the more he thought about it, the more he believed that this sacrifice would please *Ti-ra'-wa*. There were many things that he wanted to understand, and to do; and he thought if he gave up his son, these good things would come to him. So he resolved to make the sacrifice.

One morning he started out from the village, and took the boy with him. They went over to the Platte. When they got to the river,

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539 773 782 as they were walking along, the man took his knife from its sheath, and caught the boy by the shoulder, and stabbed him quickly, and cut him open. When the boy was dead, he threw the body into the river, and then went back to the village. When he got there, he went into his lodge and sat down. After a time he said to his wife, "Where is the boy?" The woman said, "He went out with you, when you went over to see the horses." The man answered, "No; I went out to where the horses are feeding, and looked at them, but he did not go with me."

539 773 The man went out, and looked for the boy all through the village, but he could not find him. At night when the boy did not come home, they began to get frightened, and for two days they hunted for the boy, and at last they got the old crier to call out for him from the top of the lodge, and ask if any one had seen him, but none of the people knew what had become of the boy. Now the mother was mourning, and the father pretended to feel very badly. They could not find the boy; and soon after this the tribe started on the summer hunt, and the father and mother went with them. The village made a good hunt, killing plenty of buffalo, and made much dried meat.

After the boy had been thrown into the river, he floated down with the current, sometimes turning over and over in the swift water, and sometimes grounding for a little while on a sand bar, and then being floated off again, and being carried further down. At length he came near to the place where the whirlpool is, under the bluff at *Pa-bŭk'*, where is the lodge of the *Nahu'rac*. There were two buzzards sitting on the bluff, just above this place, and as they sat there, one of them stretched out his neck and looked up the river, and after he had looked, he said to the other, "I see a body." Then both the buzzards flew down to where the boy was floating in the water, and got down under him, and raised him on their backs, and lifted him up out of the water, and flew up to the bluff, carrying the boy on their backs, and placed him on the ground on top of the bluff over the big cave, which is the home of the *Nahu'rac*. In this lodge were all kinds of animals, and all kinds of birds. There were bears, and mountain lions, and buffalo, and elk, and beaver, and otter, and deer; all kinds of animals, great and small, and all kinds of birds.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

by the Pawnees. The Pawnee custom of sacrificing a captive maiden to their god of war, the Morning Star, captured the attention of the people of the eastern United States and Washington in 1820 through reports of a young Pawnee hero, Man Chief, who risked his life to rescue a Sioux girl from the sacrificial scaffold in defiance of the Pawnee priesthood and the other participants in the ceremony. Echoes of Aztec customs that appeared in the ceremony and in other phases of their religion made people wonder how the Pawnees had come to make their home in the northern Plains or in what manner they could have received such customs. In the 1840's as main trails going westward cut directly across their territory, the Pawnee name became a feared byword to the settlers going west.

To many people today the word Pawnee suggests Plains Indian life. They were indeed a people of our Plains, but the nature of their life was very different from the common stereotype of a Plains Indian. They were not the horse-riding, settler-hounding people that we think of as the typical Plains Indian. In the following account the Pawnee will appear in very human terms in the context of organized tribal life. We hope this more realistic setting will dispel some of our static preconceptions and open up new possibilities for change in our point of view about these early American settlers.

But beyond this primary goal, this study has a more general value for us. The portrayal of Pawnee life through the most ordinary situations has thrown into sharp contrast the major qualitative differences in their lifeways which fit none of our familiar stereotypes. As a human mode, it is a New World life and a new and unfamiliar dimension in the human spectrum. Cultural contact with the European and adoption of some of his ways did not change its essential character as even now American Indian groups persist in being not European. It is this persistent patterning that makes this account of Pawnee life an important resource as a control case in our search for a science of society. If we make an effort to enter it sincerely so that we see it whole, we can look at our own life with new eyes and be better able to perceive new paths to our own tomorrow to become the New World people that we really are.

I shall first introduce a number of Pawnee individuals who lived more than a hundred years ago in a Nebraska Pawnee village and the various life circumstances in which they were involved. Then I will place them within a household in that village and tell in full detail how they worked, played and worshipped together over the course of an entire year. Finally I will relate what became of them at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, after their village life ended. I will finish my account with a possible life pattern for our own future that my Pawnee studies have helped me to develop.

Pawnee People and Their Fortunes: III 55

sirawari i — They two who are traveling, 533
tskara, sirawari i-a-a-a-a — Alone, they two who are traveling, 539
tsapat-i witiwaku — A young woman, it is said that she says:
sikatasiwaktiks-a — I wonder if they two are true (to each other).

tskara, sirawari-i-a-a-a-a-a

By the time the boys had reached their teens, it was impossible for their 883
parents to keep close watch on their associations, and friendships not un- 572
commonly grew up between boys of different social status. At this time, 554
a young boy of a chief's family might gain a retainer or a lifelong ally
from among the commoners. There is a story told (Dorsey, 1906, pp. 46- 539
50) of the rise of a poor boy who made friends with two boys of 883
wealthy families: A poor boy came down from the north and met the 572
son of a chief and the son of a medicine man. The two wealthy boys 554
liked the poor boy very much and followed his leadership. The poor boy
suggested that they each learn all about his father's ways, and finally
the three set out traveling over the country. In the course of their travels
they came upon a small group of Sioux tents which they attacked, killing
the men and sparing the women. It appeared that the women were not too
well satisfied with their late husbands, so they readily acquiesced to be
taken over by the three boys. Eventually the women and children were
taught to speak Pawnee, and the boys continued with similar exploits until
the group had increased in numbers considerably. Then one of the
boys stole into the village and got seeds for planting the crops. At last
the poor boy induced the other two to declare him chief of them all,
while the former chief's son was to assume the role of priest of their
sacred bundle and the son of the medicine man was to minister to their
health. Thus, the story goes, through the friendship of these three boys
a new village was founded. It is not clear whether this story is told to in- [829]
duce boys to follow a similar course or whether it actually had some his- [867]
torical basis. Opinions differ on this issue and some think the story
accounts for the founding of one or the other of the bands, others believe
it refers to the founding of the Arikara, while still others hold that it
is simply a mandate for boys to form firm friendships so that they may
work together for their future.

Within the group there was little room for comradery among the ma- 571
ture Pawnee men. Their visiting back and forth was formally structured 574
within the house even when only two were sitting together. First
there would be the offering to the powers above and below with the [782]
pipe, then a smoking together, and—only then—either a simple conversa- [276]
tion or business. This sequence of events was inevitably followed by a [521]
woman serving some food, in which case it became mandatory for
the conversation to become light and mildly humorous. This skeleton

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

342 a constant stream. In the west was the Evening Star, a beautiful woman,
772 Goddess of Night and Germination, and in her garden the corn and buffalo were constantly being renewed so that the people could eat; and in the western part of the house the sacred buffalo skull and the bundle with its ears of corn symbolized this power. In the eastern sky was the Morning Star—god of light, of fire, and of war. As he rose every morning he sent his beam into the long entryway of the house and lit the fire in an act of cosmic procreation, symbolizing his first union with the Evening Star in the times of the great creation when he had had to fight off the guardians of night with which the Evening Star surrounded herself. Finally the conflict was won and Morning Star mated with Evening Star and fathered the girl that was the first human being to be placed on earth.

342 The house was at the same time the universe and also the womb of a
772 woman, and the household activities represented her reproductive pow-
353 ers. The beds of the women along the circular walls were appropriately
84 ranged by age to represent the main stages in a woman's life—the youngest women near the west where the garden of the Evening Star was located, the mature women in the middle of each side (due north and due south) and the beds of the old women near the exit to the east, for at their age they were "on the way out." Being at home was spoken of as being "inside"; *ti*-ka, he is-*inside*; the house, *a*-ka-*ru*, the *inside*-place; the universe, ka-*huraru*, the *inside*-land.

776 The supreme god and First Cause of all was *Tirawahat*, The Expanse
342 of the Heavens. Beyond all others, he directed everything and to his
[823] power there were four direct paths leading from the house to the sky in
[182] the four semicardinal directions—northwest, northeast, southeast, and southwest; offerings were made from these positions in the house so that they would be readily received.

361 Everyone in the house, including the boy, Otter, had a clear consciousness
342 of these things as they moved about within it. Now secure in his bed, the boy was also secure in the world. Outside there were a hundred houses like his, clustered close together on the high banks of Beaver Creek, and on the hills the sentinels were watching for the lurking enemy.
342 The round houses with their high-domed roofs were covered with thatch and then with tamped-down earth. As the fires began to be lit, smoke
[354] rose here and there from the smokeholes. Inside, the women were cook-
[252] ing breakfast as White Woman was now doing.

252 White Woman went over to the supply platform, loosened the draw-
262 string of the skin sack that contained dried corn kernels, and removed the
[251] skin cover. She poured a handful of dried kernels for each person into a large wooden bowl about 15 inches across and 3 inches deep. She washed the kernels at least twice to remove any dirt and chaff, then dumped them into a tin bucket of cold water that she hung over the fire to boil. Three

272 After the other foods were ready, the coffee was cooked in a bucket with sugar to be served later in small bowls. This was a task that No Corn was likely to undertake. She would mix a handful of ground coffee with a handful of sugar and boil them together with water in the bucket. The meal would be finished off with sweet coffee served hot and black.

512 While all these preparations were going on, the people began to get up one by one and sit down in their places around the fire. Now only the boys were still in bed. Grandma warmed her hands over the fire, went [522] over to the bed, put them on Otter's warm nose and "took it off" remarking to Old Bull, "Here's his nose." Then she offered it all around to the assembled company. Sometimes it was his ears that she offered instead. With things about done, Victory Call said, "Boys, breakfast is ready, you can go to bed again later if you want to."

264 White Woman removed the bucket of corn from the fire and put eleven bowls around it to serve the family. The grandmother–grandchild pairs [412] each got a bowl together and everyone else got a bowl for himself. With [415] each bowl there was a buffalo-horn spoon and two spoons in the bowl for grandma and grandchild. White Woman, who was sitting east and slightly north of the fireplace, dished out the corn with a large buffalo-horn spoon 8 inches long with a bowl that was 4½ inches across and 1½ inches deep. A ladleful or one and a half ladles of corn along with the liquor was a serving, the grandmother–grandchild bowls receiving an extra large portion. For feasts, large wooden ladles were used for serving.

264 The order in which the members of the household sat at their meal was 554 pretty much in the position of their beds. Old Bull sat at the southwest 592 and Victory Call at the northwest position. Ordinarily a man's senior wife sat next to him, and his junior wives sat beyond. Old Bull and his wives sat in this order, but White Woman had moved down to the east end of the north side so that she could do the serving. The grandmothers and [574] their grandchildren sat at the east end. Old-Man-That-Chief, although a [888] guest, took up the southeast position of humility, for he was old and nearly blind. The bowls were passed around to the people from hand to hand, unless the circle was too large, in which case a young woman would be asked to do the serving. The men were served first in order of importance, the "guest side" always being given priority. In this instance the order was Old Bull, Victory Call, Old-Man-That-Chief, Horse Rider, Queen Woman, the senior wife, then Clear Day, the junior wife, Blue Calico, the grandmother, on the south side; then the women on the north—No Corn, Yellow Calf and his Grandma, Otter and his Grandma, and finally White Woman herself.

264 Before they began their meal, White Woman made an offering of corn 782 at the west. She took some kernels of corn in a spoon from Victory Call's bowl and offered them to the nose of the buffalo skull that rested on

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the altar there. Out of delicacy, she did not offer corn to the sacred ears in the bundle; if they had had buffalo meat she would have offered it there but not to the buffalo skull.

Now the meal began, and it was proper that they have light conversation while eating. Their conversation turned to getting water for the household and wood for fuel, the care of the horses, and the food pit. White Woman remarked to Clear Day, who was sitting on the other side of the fireplace, "After breakfast, let's take two kettles and get some water." The other women talked about opening up the food pit and sorting out the good corn from the rotten and about exposing dry meat to the wind and sun. Victory Call talked to Horse Rider, who was sitting at his left, about the horses. He said, "Right up near where the horses are you might find some mushrooms and milkweed so that the women can cook the tops." Then the women chimed in, "I wish you could get some milkweed. That's good mixed with corn." Then Victory Call spoke of the horses: "If there's a good runner among them, get on him and give him some exercise so that we can train him as a buffalo horse. You must look around meanwhile and see if you see some deer tracks. We might go hunting. In the evening take the horses to a safe hiding place and hobble them so that the Sioux won't steal them. Look way off in all directions and if you see anyone lurking about bring them right home and put them in the corral. They won't starve for one night. In the morning we'll turn them loose and they can make up for it." "All right, I'll look around," said Horse Rider, "I'll be home late." Victory Call had some further reminders for him. He asked him if he had any parched corn with salt so that the horses would get thirsty and drink. He also reminded him that he should wet the sides of the horses and then they would rub themselves on the grass and shed their old hair. This was a necessary precaution, as they had no curry comb. Horse Rider actually knew all this, but he listened respectfully.

The meal now over, White Woman cleaned up the dishes and started out with Clear Day to get the water. It was a mile to Beaver Creek, and it was necessary to go at least twice a day to get water for the household. Horse Rider usually helped by making at least one of these trips. The two women now set out with two buckets hanging on a seven-foot-long stick which rested on their right shoulders, one woman walking in front and one behind, with the buckets between. The stick, ordinarily used as a digging iron, had one end fire-hardened and sharpened to a point, the other end being forked. At this time after breakfast and especially just before eating supper, many people were walking toward the creek for the same purpose.

Horse Rider left the lodge to take care of the horses, and Old Bull and Victory Call remained seated in their place, smoking their pipe and continuing their conversation. The old ladies who were left behind looked

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sharpen up his axe, fix up the ropes, borrow a horse to haul the wood if you need one. If two or three lodges are going afoot together, they must keep in line so that we know where you are." (Those with horses were in less danger and might go in any order.) There was another thing he warned them against—that is, taking young girls along. They were just the ones the Sioux would be trying to capture, and the old man remarked, they weren't really strong enough to carry wood anyway! Another danger was a magical one. The spirits of men who had been scalped by an enemy were very much feared. They were thought to lurk all around, trying to capture women or steal whatever else they could get their hands on. So the old man cautioned, "If a woman hasn't kept up, the line must wait for her until she arrives. She might be captured by one of the scalped men. This is the time you have to look out for that."

When the young men heard the crier's announcement, five or six of them would gather together at a favorite rendezvous and say, "Let's go together with our bows and arrows real early before the others and stay up there until everyone comes home." According to their plan, on the appointed morning they would go out before the others and disburse over the area to see whether the enemy was lurking about. They would leave the villages about 7:30 in the morning and stay out all day.

The chiefs' meeting had come to an end that afternoon while it was still full daylight. Old Bull had gone off to tend his horses. Victory Call, having nothing in particular to do since he had Horse Rider to help him, wandered over to the gaming grounds where some of the men were clustered about making their bets on the outcome of the hoop and spear game, while others were just watching on the sidelines. Victory Call sat down at some distance from the game and two of the spectators came to join him. The man who sat down at his left filled up his pipe and offered it to Victory Call, lighting it for him. Victory Call offered the mouthpiece upward for the first puff to the cosmic powers in the heavens saying, "Greetings, all of you spread out up there." Then he offered the mouthpiece to the earth and said, "Greetings, my mother." Now he took two puffs on the pipe and began to share it with the men on each side of him in the alternation: first to the right, then himself, then to the left, and so on. When the pipe was smoked out, Victory Call was feeling in a genial mood. He made a special arrangement of his robe that had up to now been carelessly draped around his shoulders. He drew it down to his waist and, crossing his legs with the robe folded in a certain order, showed by this token that he was ready to tell a story. The men who had sat down with him were anxious to hear what the chief had to say, and particularly what had gone on in the meeting he had just attended before the crier got around to announcing it. Several more men joined the party with the same idea in mind. Victory Call might begin directly, or one of the men would suggest it obliquely saying, "I heard you had a feast."

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574 521 "Yes, we had a feast. It was about having the whole tribe go out for wood." "Yes," one of the men would say, "springtime is coming now and it's about time we got the wood ready. Womenfolk have to go to the fields." Now they would exchange stories until sundown—about war exploits and the horses they had succeeded in getting from the enemy, in which direction they went when they got them, about scouting in the U.S. Army and other similar topics. After about half an hour, the man [276] on his right filled the pipe, but Victory Call ceded it to him. He made • [782] the offering to heaven and to earth, and the pipe was passed between them back and forth until they had smoked the tobacco in it. While the storytelling was going on, one of the men decided that he would entertain the chief at his house for dinner and sent a little boy with a message for his wife to prepare a meal for their honored guest. When he was notified that the meal was ready he said to Victory Call, "I want you to come up to my lodge. We're going to have a little bite." The host would call over one or two more and invite them to join the party, saying "I want you to come up. We're going to have something to eat."

574 [554] Victory Call was seated in the place of honor at the northwest and the host at the southeast. The women of the house dished out the food and passed it around. After they had eaten, Victory Call got up first and left walking out by the north side of the lodge. After he had gone they would say, "He's a good chief. He goes about and sees what's going on."

When Victory Call got home that evening, he found White Woman waiting up for him. "I've already eaten," he said. White Woman retorted by way of banter, "I didn't ask you if you had eaten." Then he sat down by the fire and she brought him his tobacco pouch. Guests were likely to come in soon and join him for the rest of the evening for a smoke and some talk. Before the guests arrived, they divided into very small pieces the meat that Victory Call had brought home from the chiefs' meeting so that everyone could have a taste.

When the first guest arrived, Victory Call offered him his pipe and said to White Woman, "Cook something." The guest had just had his dinner and said, "No, no, I've already eaten." Then a little time passed and another guest wandered in. He happened to be hungry and he remarked, "I'd like something to eat," and then White Woman had to get to work and prepare something. By this time all the others who were sitting around would have worked up an appetite and Victory Call would say, "Maybe those fellows are hungry. Maybe they can eat." And so the cooking started up again.

574 521 They talked about hunting, trapping, the warpath, chasing the buffalo, and some other incidents that they had seen or heard. Sitting Bull would begin by telling a story on himself. He told that once he had killed a deer and his kinsman came along. Ordinarily he would be expected to give him half the kill, but he had diverted his attention saying, "Go fol-

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visions to the first man. She came night after night, bringing along her four storm gods who rattled and sang the sacred songs so that he learned of the creation and could give this knowledge to the people. Then the people went hunting far and wide over the land and they discovered that there were villages scattered everywhere in which there were people just like themselves. First Man now decided to call them all to a great council. He sent his messenger to the villages to invite them. Meanwhile he moved his village from south of the Platte to a more central location northward on the Loup, and it was henceforth called Center Village. From the west came Old Village which was actually four villages in one, each representing one of the semicardinal directions and each with a sacred bundle of its own that contained a different color of corn. They came carrying packages of dried buffalo meat on their backs, since it was a time before the Pawnees had gotten horses from the Europeans. The leader of the four was Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, and the head of this village insisted on being "Master of Ceremonies" for all of them. The Chief of Center Village who had called them together was now faced with a problem, and that night Evening Star came to him in a vision and told him what to do. He would divide the functions of priest and chief, stepping aside and allowing the leader of Old Village to be the priest while he himself took over the functions of chief. He kept the Evening Star bundle intact, but made a special ceremonial bundle to denote his chieftainship. In order to commemorate his creative intellectual powers, he directed that when he died his skull was to be attached to the outside of this bundle. Thus it came to be known as the Skull bundle, although it was also referred to as the bundle of the Wonderful Person, *Tsahiks-paruksti*, "person-wonderful." This bundle presided over the meeting of the chiefs late in the spring as well as over other rituals. When the original skull was accidentally broken, it was replaced with another.

This story of the creation embodies two things. On the one hand it is an allegory of cosmic creation, and on the other a thinly veiled recounting, in symbolic form, of all-too-human intervillage conflicts of the past which were resolved by the formation of a political federation. In Pawnee thinking, these were appropriately combined, for peace and ongoing life came always from Heaven. In the ceremonial cycle of the year there was a careful alternation of ceremonial authority, the first ceremony being that of the Evening Star bundle—the creation; the second, a ceremony directed by the Morning Star bundle, and the third a ceremony under the aegis of one of the four semicardinal-direction bundles. (See Table 7-1.) In this way a balance of ceremonial responsibilities was maintained among the leading villages of the past which had joined together in the Skidi Federation.

After the priests had completed their rounds for the creation ritual during the month of March, the second ceremony in the cycle involved

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the sacrifice to the Morning Star of a young girl that had been captured from the enemy. This was compensation to the Morning Star god for his struggle during the creation. The last girl to be sacrificed to the Morning Star was a young Sioux girl named Haxti in 1838, after which the practice was abandoned. This ceremony symbolized fertility in general.

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TABLE 7-1. *Chart of Sacred Bundle Ceremonies in the Spring and Fall*

The several ceremonies of the spring planting and fall harvest form a parallel series, the six ceremonies in each showing a recurrent alternation of the powers of the Evening Star and the four semicardinal-direction bundles. The first four pertain to planting, fertility, and war, the latter two to buffalo hunting and migration.

Spring	*Fall*
I. Spring Renewal—ceremony of the creation at the first thunder from the south; Evening Star sponsorship.	I. Green Corn Ceremony. Evening Star sponsorship.
II. Distributing sacred seed corn of the special breed of corn included in the sacred bundles. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the summer-direction bundles—southwest or southeast.	II. Harvest of Mature Corn. Mature corn from sacred seeds installed in the sacred bundles, replacing the sacred ears of last year's planting. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the winter-direction bundles—northwest or northeast.
III. Ground-breaking ceremony, *Awari*, movement, activity. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an affiliate of the Evening Star in charge of the ritual as sponsor.	III. Four-Pole Ceremony—symbolizing political federation and control of the country through war expeditions so that they could go out into the country on the hunt. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an Evening Star affiliate in charge of the ritual as sponsor.
IV. Birth and growth of Young Mother Corn through adolescence to young womanhood; known as *Kurahus*, "Priest." Semicardinal-direction bundle in charge of ritual as sponsor.	

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241 778 now dressed the skull in a black skin turban with a knot on the forehead. Inside the turban were soft down feathers mixed with red paint (to represent the visionary's brains), and on top, a soft feather as a plume.

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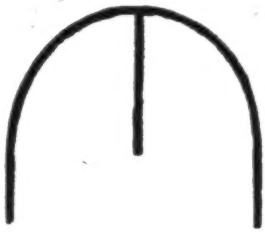

FIGURE 9-1. Representation of face painting symbolizing the vault of the heavens and the breath of Heaven.

[431] [782] Gifts began to come in: kettles of corn and meat were placed at the south, buffalo robes and other offerings between the fireplace and the skull.

[203] [431] [782] The woman's brother and a young man were sent out to all the lodges to invite the people. They dressed in their best and everyone that came brought a gift. Soon they crowded outside the door of the ceremonial lodge, and after the brother had made a smoke offering with the pipe toward the heavens and the skull the people were allowed to come in. They piled their gifts in front of the skull.

The paraphernalia were handed out to the women who were to do the dancing, and a special coiled basket was handed to the woman visionary and one to her assistant. This basket, especially made by a woman under the direction of the minister, symbolized the container ordained by Heaven to carry earth from which the world was created and the germs of life. At the time of the creation, Heaven caused this basket to move of itself through space.

The four ministers of the Skull bundle now took up their rattles and sang, "Now we are going to start to dance. Everyone wants to dance and shake the earth."

241 535 At the first song the women stood ready to scrape the earth with their hoes, right foot forward, arms extended. They were followed by the woman visionary and her partner, who now got up and danced with the coiled baskets. Next followed women with loon necks and then young women with deer necks. These had to be chaste young women. Now the hoes were taken over by the old women, for they were early risers and good workers in the fields. When these got tired, other women came over and took the hoes, carrying out the motions of hoeing all the time:

> The visionary moves her basket back and forth—dishing out. The four ladies with the loon necks swing them as if digging in the earth. The two girls with the deer heads dip them up and down, swinging back and forth.

As the women danced with the hoes, a few men danced among them with their bows and arrows poised as if aiming at something. If the women seemed to be getting tired, the men rubbed against them like buffalo bulls. After the dance was over, the minister asked if everything was all right, and when they looked around at the ground there were rolls of buffalo hair scattered all over. They knew that everything would be all right then, that they would succeed in the buffalo hunt, and that there would be plenty of corn.

There were eight song episodes in the entire series with three intermissions. In the intermissions, a special type of byplay took place that had nothing to do with the order of the ceremony itself. The special characters comprised four young virgins and four warriors on each side of the ceremonial lodge. As the women were dancing with their hoes, these virgins and warriors stood up and joined them, and at the time for intermission each virgin got a pipe filled with tobacco that was at the altar and gave it to a warrior. The connection between war and fertility is a leitmotif that runs through much of Pawnee sacred ceremonialism as elaborately exemplified in the human sacrifice to the Morning Star. In this byplay between virgins and warriors this theme is also represented. In the kin system, familiar behavior is characteristic of grandparents and grandchildren only; otherwise people must maintain a formal position with each other. Since familiar remarks are going to be made, the virgins address the warriors as grandpa and the warriors address them as granddaughter. Each virgin having handed a pipe to a warrior, the byplay began:

> Holding his pipe in his left hand, he flexes his arm and moves it back and forth in jerky movements as if running and stamping his right foot three times and then his left as if on the run. He might say, "I was east on the warpath and I killed a Sioux," or he might tell how he stole horses on the warpath. Now the warrior makes a smoke offering and addresses his "granddaughter." He is going to give her advice on how to conduct her sex and marital relations. "Don't let your husband kiss you unless he gives you a horse." "All right," the girl answers, "I'll do that." A warrior on the south side says to his girl partner, "Granddaughter, give me the pipe and I'll tell you what I did. On the Republican river I killed a Sioux and I left him there." Then everyone will say, "Well, why didn't you bring him home?" Then he makes a smoke offering with the pipe the virgin has given him and says, "Grand-

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THE CAPTIVE GIRL SACRIFICE

Importance of Sacrifice to Pawnees—Dream of Warrior and Initiation of Sacrificial Ceremony Preparations—Capture of Sioux Maiden—the Ceremony of Sacrifice for Creation to Morning Star—the Sacrifice in the Nineteenth Century—Its Interruption and End—the Heroism of Man Chief—Aztec Origins

773 796 782 [241] After the creation ceremony in times past, the Pawnees had an awesome rite that they believed would ensure the fertility of their soil and the success of their crops. In the creation story, fruitfulness and light had come into the world because Morning Star and his realm of light had conquered and mated with Evening Star in her realm of darkness. Out of that contest, the first human being was conceived—a girl. From time to time the Morning Star demanded a girl in return.

773 796 782 787 He came as a vision to a warrior in his dreams on a night in the fall of the year. In the vision, Morning Star appeared as a man anointed with red paint, wrapped around with a buffalo robe, his leggings decorated with scalps and eagle feathers. There were soft down feathers in his hair and a single eagle feather stood upright in his scalplock. Holding his war club he spoke to the warrior in his dream: "I am the man who has power in the east. I am the Great Star (*Upirikutsu*). You people have forgotten about me. I am watching over your people. Go to the man who knows the ceremony and let him know. He will tell you what to do." When he awoke and went outside before dawn, the warrior saw the Morning Star in the sky and he knew he had been chosen for the heavy burden of making the sacrifice. He ran crying through the village to the house of the Morning Star priest, singing as he went, "When he comes,

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when he comes, father, I am seeking for you." When he arrived at the priest's house, they embraced and wept together, and then the priest filled a little pipe with tobacco and asked the warrior to tell of his dream. 773 796 782

After he had heard his vision, the priest filled the pipe and went outside where he lit it and offered it to the Morning Star so that he would bless the young man. When the pipe was smoked out, the priest returned, emptied the ashes, and sat for a while talking with the warrior. The priest again filled the pipe and handed it to the warrior who lit it in the fireplace and carried it outside offering the first puff to the Morning Star, begging his pity and his guidance. Then the priest told the warrior to go home and to return when he was ready. He thought deeply of his forthcoming task as the priest had instructed him and at last asked the people in his lodge to make him several pairs of moccasins for the journey, filled with balls of pounded up sweet corn and some parched corn for his food. Everyone in the village was watching him, and some experienced warriors who had decided to go with him also asked their families to make similar preparations. [787]

The visionary returned to the priest's lodge where they sat together for four days. When he came on the fourth day, the priest took the Morning Star bundle down from where it was hanging over the sacred altar and removed the holy objects that the warrior would need, lighting the pipe from the bundle and offering smoke to each of them in the required fashion. The objects were an otterskin collar, Mother Corn, a hawkskin, an extra pipe from the bundle, some soft down feathers, and the skin of a wildcat, its legs filled with native tobacco and paints. These things the warrior would need for his costuming when he impersonated the Morning Star so that he could set out on his fateful journey. The ceremony took four days, and then the warrior went through the village to call on the men he knew were ready to come with him. He also chose a number of assistants—a younger man, four scouts from among the volunteers, and helpers and errand men. While the priest instructed him, the others went to their lodges and got their things. At midnight the priest went outside waiting for the Morning Star to rise and then went inside and costumed the warrior to impersonate him—a buffalo hair rope around his waist, an otterskin collar around his neck with a hawkskin fastened on and suspended from his right shoulder, the ear of Mother Corn from his left shoulder. He painted his face with the red ointment—two streaks on either side of his face and a bird's foot on his forehead (astronomically unidentified; "right on the Milky Way"). He gave him the pipe to carry in his left hand or in his robe with the stem pointing upward. As the Morning Star was rising the priest said, "Here is your man. He is wearing your clothing. Protect him and make him successful." Then he led the warrior around the fireplace, faced him toward the entrance, his assistant beside him and the others following behind in [778]

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the order of the procession—the four leading scouts, firemakers, cooks, and messengers.

After traveling 15 or 20 miles, they lay down to sleep among the thick weeds, resuming their journey through the afternoon to a timbered spot where they made camp. The errand man cleared the ground, made a little fireplace in the middle, and the leader took off his costume and put it at the west end of the fireplace where the altar would be in the earth lodge. They all sat around the fireplace in order of their rank and cosmic affiliation, ate a meal, and talked a while; then the leader told them to lie down while he watched the sky and from time to time smoked his pipe. Just before the Morning Star rose, the scouts went out; when the star came up the leader began to recite the ritual, and hearing it everyone awakened and they continued on their journey. At noon they stopped, the scouts joined them and reported what they had seen; in the afternoon, they continued with their journey. Every day they traveled this way until the scouts reported that they had seen signs of the enemy. When the village was sighted, the scouts went all around, counting the tipis and generally taking stock of the situation. They made a final camp in the timber, making a large circle as if for an earth lodge, a fireplace in the middle with the excavated earth from the fireplace in a little mound to the east outside the circle. At the request of the leader, the warriors placed their gifts at the west, and taking some tobacco from the feet of the wildcat skin, he filled the sacred pipe and one of the men was chosen to do the ceremonial smoking to the celestial powers. The scouts made a final check of the enemy camp and when they got back, the leader ordered a large fire built and the ritual dancing began. The leading members of the party sang the songs of the creation: "The power of the *earth* goes through the enemy's country; the power of the *timbers, waters, seeds*. . . ." Others all sang and danced, "This is the way I do when I am imitating him (the Morning Star), when I become angry, when I am imitating him," and as they sang and danced, they attacked the fire as if it were the enemy. At the rise of the Morning Star, the leader also danced, put on some of his regalia, and got his pipe ready, and they set out for the enemy village, the scouts in the lead. In his prayer to the Morning Star he asked that he lose none of his men. At the enemy village, the leader was stationed at the east facing the Morning Star; he sent his assistant to lead a party around by north and another man by south to surround the village. At the southeast the man representing the Fools-the-Wolves Star was to alert them with his first wolf cry, and then at his second wolf signal everyone would attack the village. They were reminded that they were not to kill unless it was necessary, but only to locate a thirteen-year-old girl and pronounce her holy for the Great Star. The one who found her was assisted by the others to bring her to the leader. No one else in the village was to be harmed. The four scouts were to

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drive the horses from the village toward their encampment so that they could leave in a hurry. The enemy would not immediately attempt a pursuit as there was a feeling that this was a kind of cosmic destiny. Retribution would be visited upon the whole tribe later on in a regular war party. The girl was placed on a pony behind her captor, and they rode all day, sleeping only three hours during the night until they approached the village. As they approached, the leader set the prairie on fire to let them know that they had been successful. The warriors smeared their faces with soot. The Morning Star priest came out and led the captive girl to the village and to his lodge.

Now that the girl had been captured the first stage of the warrior's mission had been accomplished. The sacrifice would not take place until the following spring. The whole tribe would go off on the winter buffalo hunt, taking the girl with them. When they got back to the village and the creation ceremony had been performed, the priest of the Morning Star would watch for a sign from the cosmic god that the time for the ceremony had arrived. Meanwhile, the returned war party settled back in the village. The visionary warrior went to the lodge of the Morning Star priest and returned the costume which was replaced in the sacred bundle. Warriors told how many of the enemy they had touched and the war counts they should receive because of this and the number killed. The women danced the victory dance. The keeper of the Wolf bundle was called to the Morning Star lodge to take over the care of the girl who would remain in his charge until the time of sacrifice, throughout the period of the winter buffalo hunt and the spring that followed. He was to watch over her at all times and was to take her for her meals to the home of the visionary warrior. According to the creation legend, the wolf was the first creature to suffer death; he was murdered by the people because of his perfidious conduct and as a result from that time on all living things must die (see below, pp. 328-329). The Wolf bundle commemorated these incidents and its keeper was thought to be a descendant of the original owners. Sirius, the southeast star, was the Wolf Star and it was connected with death. The Wolf man now entered the lodge of the Morning Star priest who bathed both him and the girl in incense from the smoke of burning sweet grass—first the girl and then the man. Then the girl's costume was taken from the Morning Star bundle. She was rubbed with red ointment made of pigment and buffalo fat and dressed in a calfskin skirt tied around the waist by a rope, an overblouse, a warm buffalo robe, some black moccasins, and a soft down feather to wear in her hair. She was given a special wooden bowl and a buffalo horn spoon for her exclusive use at meals, that was also taken from the bundle. It was dangerous for others to use her utensils as the supernatural beings might then consider them part of the sacrifice.

While they were on the winter hunt, the warrior visionary would have

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to kill a fat buffalo cow whose tongue and heart would be dried and used in the sacrifice ceremony.

Returned from the buffalo hunt, the diligent search of the Morning Star priest was rewarded when one morning the Morning Star arose ringed in red, giving the signal for the ceremony to begin. The warrior visionary was notified to clear out his lodge as the ceremony would be held there. The lodge was prepared, the warrior was dressed in a special costume for this role and the girl was brought in and dressed for her role. Then the scaffold was built and the sacrifice carried out. These proceedings occupied five days from the time the Morning Star gave the signal.

In the visionary's house all the beds were cleared out and a new fire of cedar logs was built. The Morning Star priest brought in the bundle in order to costume the visionary: around his waist a long belt of otterskin with sixty-five scalps taken in war, symbolizing war, death, and also the renewal of life, as the otter is the first animal to come up from the water after the winter ice and take the first breath of life for the year; a feather to place in his scalplock; and a war club to hold in his hand. So dressed he ran through the village calling on his relatives for contributions of new mats, food, and wood for the ceremony. The women came bringing mats, wood on their backs, cooked corn, and buffalo meat. Four long poles of special kinds were obtained to place radially in the fireplace extending outward in the semicardinal directions and meeting at the middle. They would last for the four day ceremonial period, being pushed inward as they burned down. Each was a different kind of wood appropriate to the semicardinal direction in which it was pointed: elm, northeast; boxelder, southwest; cottonwood, northwest; willow, southeast. The willow stood for death like the death star and at the same time the renewal of life in the spring. At the altar of sacrifice, willow and otter would be fastened together to express this symbolism.

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The ceremonial lodge in order, they were now ready to begin the first day's ceremony. The chief of Village-across-a-Ridge (*Turwahukasa*) that owned the Morning Star bundle, entered and seating himself at the northwest, inquired whether they were ready to receive the Wolf man and the girl. On the south side of the lodge there was a large buffalo bull robe with two cushions on it for them to sit on. As they entered, the man suffused the girl with smoke from the burning sweetgrass and then he "incensed" himself. The Wolf man sat on the southeast of the two cushions, the girl at his left with her bowl and spoon before her, the visionary at the south. Others came and seated themselves according to rank and the direction of their celestial bundle powers in the firmament, and there were several old men who were to talk to the girl and the Wolf man whenever there was a pause in the proceedings. Each one had suffused himself with sweet grass smoke as he entered and painted himself

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with red buffalo-fat ointment. Four circles were made on the ground one in each of the semicardinal directions to symbolize the four quarters of the universe that the Morning Star had to pass as he approached the Evening Star. The circles were made by a man who stood in the middle and extended his toe as far as possible, drawing his foot on the ground as he turned. The tracks were filled with soft down feathers from the bundle. The priest smeared himself with red buffalo-fat ointment and suffused himself with sweet grass smoke. The actual ceremony could begin.

The priest of the Evening Star bundle sang the first part of the ritual and after a pause, the Morning Star priest took charge. He sang two songs. Then they had their meal. The Wolf man opened the next phase, bringing the girl to the altar where she was anointed by the priest with red ointment given to him by the war leader. They returned to their seats and the ceremony continued all night. The second day's ceremony was of the same kind. On the third day they continued to sing and dance, the war leader beginning the dance and then being joined by the others. The war leader took up the northeast pole from the fireplace with the fire still burning on its end and pointed it at the girl without touching her, first toward her right side then toward her left. Next he took first the southwest pole following the same procedure, then the northwest pole and then the southeast pole, following the prescribed order. Now, on the third day, the crowd of spectators became heavy and began to push into the lodge and tear holes in the roof so that they could witness the proceedings.

While the ceremony was going on in the lodge the priest gave directions for the preparation of the sacrificial scaffold. He sent men to find a suitable location a mile or two east of the village with a ravine or a series of dips in the ground to the east of it where the attacking warriors could hide during the ceremony. Wood for each part of the sacrificial frame had to be of special kinds: cottonwood for the two uprights; the four crossbars near the bottom serving as steps, each symbolizing one of the four semicardinal directions, the bottommost elm, then box elder, cottonwood, and willow, each associated with an animal power. Elm represented the bear and the northeast; box elder, the mountain lion and the southwest; cottonwood, the wildcat and the northwest; and willow, the wolf and the southeast. When the men reported back to the priest that they had located the wood, he gave them four strips of animal skin, each one of the appropriate animal with which to tie the crossbars to the frame. Near the top of the two uprights was another crossbar of willow, symbolizing Heaven, which was tied on with otterskin to symbolize the renewal of life. They were instructed by the priest to dig a rectangular pit under the scaffold in area about the size of a buffalo robe commonly used to wrap a sacred bundle and 5 inches

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deep, the bottom to be covered with soft down feathers. The pit symbolized the Garden of the Evening Star from which all life originates. The pit was called *Kuseru*, which in Pawnee simply means bed.

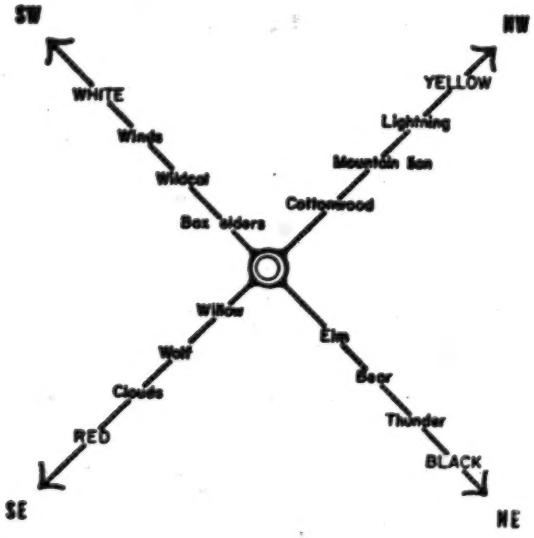

FIGURE 10-1. Association of symbolisms for the four semicardinal directions: colors, natural forces, animals, trees.

In the ceremonial lodge, the dancing and singing continued on the fourth day. Whenever they ate during the ceremonies, the girl was served, and once in a while she was taken out to walk around, always accompanied by Wolf man. The main theme of the fourth day was the destruction of the four semicardinal circles in the appropriate order as Morning Star had done in the creation as he warred on the Evening Star. The priest, impersonating the Morning Star wore leggings decorated with scalps. First he arose and sang and danced around the north side, then the south side, then back to the altar. He danced around the lodge again and when he arrived at the east he whirled around suddenly and destroyed the northeast circle scattering the white feathers around the lodge, then the southwest, the northwest, and the southeast circles, making a grunting sound each time as if attacking an enemy. Then all sang the fifth song and the girl was taken to the altar to be costumed for her last role.

Her body was painted, red on the right side, black on the left, the red to symbolize day, the time of the Morning Star, and the black to

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represent night, the time of the Evening Star. She wore a skirt and a painted hide robe around her shoulders. Now they sang of the origin of the Morning Star itself that they thought had come from a meteor. They sang to the girl, "You are now wearing the covering of meteorite grandfather," and in the next song, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite father," and then, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite brother." They completed her costume with a row of feathers standing up erect along the median line of her head. Her costume complete, she sat down in her place next to the Wolf man. They sang until midnight and then they paused, awaiting the time of the Morning Star. Meanwhile they placed a pinch of tobacco before the altar and sang about flint, the meteorite grandfather and other Morning Star symbols. Thereafter they would have to address their songs to the Morning Star in the sky. During the pause, once in a while the visionary took up the four direction poles from the fireplace and pointed them at the girl as he had done before in the prescribed succession: northeast, and so on.

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Now the procession to the scaffold would begin. All the men and boys and even male infants were to participate in the sacrifice. During the day, one of the priests had climbed up to the roof of the earth lodge and called out, alerting them to be prepared with their bows and arrows. In the ceremonial lodge, the priest gave the war leader the braided elk-hide ropes to tie on the girl's wrists. He took up the gourd rattles. It was almost daylight. The four priests of the four direction bundles had gone out to dress, each being assisted by a specially designated person to adjust their costumes and to get ready. The Northwest man (Yellow Tent) wore two owlskins on his back that he had taken from his bundle; in his hand he held the bow he took from the Skull bundle and a red arrow that he had added to it. The Southeast bundle man (Red Tent) also had two owls and took a stick with coals on the end. The Southwest bundle priest (White-Mother-Born-Again) had two owls also and he took a war club. The fourth priest, representing the Big Black Meteoric Star (black, northeast) who also wore two owlskins on his back, took the flint knife.

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Now all sang and started on the procession, the girl and the Wolf man in the lead followed by the visionary-war leader dressed in his otter collar, his otter belt with sixty-five scalps, his pipe, and other regalia and the four direction priests in their costumes.

The dawn was coming and the scaffold was ready. Slowly the procession went toward it. As they went they sang four songs. The girl looked around and wondered. The first song said, "She was looking around for just a little time." Then they sang of Heaven and of the powers of the bear, the mountain lion, the wildcat, and the wolf as the girl approached the scaffold. The Wolf man urged her to mount and as she

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climbed each rung, a song was sung about the appropriate animal. Singing they tied her on and then left her there facing east.

The war leader and four direction priests were hiding in the ravine; now the four priests came out one by one. The Southeast bundle man with the burning stick ran out of hiding and barely touched the girl on the arms and loins. The Northwest bundle man came out with his bow and arrow and shot her through the heart. Now the Northeast man of the Big Black Meteoric Star rushed up with the flint knife and made a small cut over her heart. Taking some of the blood, he painted streaks on his face. The southwest man came with the warclub, and he made a gesture at her. The blood of the girl was allowed to drip on the dried tongue and heart meat of the consecrated buffalo, and the priest made a new fire at the southeast, the burnt offering of the sacred meat being made by the priest of the Evening Star bundle. Now all the men and the boys of the Skidi Band, singing war songs, riddled the body with their arrows. Then the priest told them to leave the sacrifice.

The priests now made a final disposition of the body. It was full daylight, and four men who had been chosen to assist, untied the body and took it about a quarter of a mile to the east, placing it on the ground face down. They sang, "The whole earth, she shall turn into. The whole earth shall receive her blood." Then they spoke of nine things in turn: "She will turn into a bunch of grass; the ants will find her, the moths will come and find her, the fox shall come and find her, the coyote, the wildcat, the magpie, the crow; buzzards will come and find her, and last of all will be the bald-headed eagle who will come and eat her."

All the people who participated in the ritual went to the ceremonial earth lodge and there ate a meal of consecrated buffalo meat. The public dispersed.

[786] In the village there was general rejoicing. Men and women danced, and there was a period of ceremonial sexual license to promote fertility. Some women dressed themselves in their husband's war costumes, dancing around and making fun of the men. They mimicked what they did in war and ceremony.

> They carried the Mother Corn. . . . They would go to the secret lodge, and standing outside of it would tell the story of how they came to go on the pretended war party and what they did while they were gone, what enemies they struck—the whole long story. The people stood around laughing as they did these things. Imitating the warriors, the women changed their names also. One of the leading old women once took the name "Mud on Meat" another "Skunk Skin Tobacco Pouch" another, "Sitting Fish Old Man," another "Stepping on the Heart." The old men standing around joked with the old women and they all joked and made fun of each other.
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> (Grinnell, 1923, p. 368)

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So the ceremony had ended. The Morning Star had received back the first girl to be placed on earth, and he would again look after the people in peace and in war. In the way of the Morning Star, death and life, war and fruitfulness were one process.

When the news of this dramatic rite first reached the eastern seaboard of the United States in 1820–1821, it created something of a sensation, especially in the light of the obvious Mexican analogies. In 1816 an Ietan (Comanche?) girl was captured by a Skidi warrior in preparation for sacrifice to the Morning Star in the spring of 1817. The chief of the Skidi at this time was Knife Chief (*Ritsirisaru*) of Pumpkin-Vine Village. In 1811 he had been on a delegation to see William Clark in St. Louis who was then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the region and they had had a long and serious talk in which Clark impressed Knife Chief with the fact that the white people were coming in ever-increasing numbers "like the waves of the ocean—in, in, in. . . . It's coming; every year more people come over here," and that the Pawnees must prepare to adapt themselves. Knife Chief was impressed with the validity of his argument and he realized that their ceremonial practice of human sacrifice was a serious barrier to their relations with the whites. He talked to the people in an effort to get them to abandon the custom, but the warriors of the tribe and the priests, always suspicious of the political motives of the chiefs, were hostile and defiant. The ceremonies were continued and on the appointed day the girl was led out and tied to the scaffold.

On the trip to see Clark in St. Louis, Knife Chief had been accompanied by his son (or possibly paternal nephew) Man Chief (*Pita-risaru*), and, now in his early twenties, he was an outstanding warrior and universally respected. With the crowd gathered and the warrior ready to shoot the fatal arrow, Man Chief rode before them and told them that his father disapproved of what they were about to do and he had come to rescue the girl or die right there. By Skidi belief, anyone who touched the consecrated girl during her captivity would soon die, for they would be taken by the Morning Star in her stead. From the point of view of those assembled there, Man Chief was thus offering his life as forfeit for hers. The crowd now held off in awe, and Man Chief was able to cut the girl down from the scaffold and place her on a horse and send her south to rejoin her people, which she succeeded in doing.

The next year, 1818, a Spanish boy of ten was captured in Oklahoma and dedicated to the Morning Star. This time Knife Chief managed to call a chiefs' council and he was able to ransom the boy with his own store of goods to which was added that of the trader and interpreter, Papin, and Manuel Lisa. The boy was returned to Lisa's trading post on the Missouri north of Omaha, Nebraska, by the middle of June 1818. Notice of the escape of the boy, along with an account of an additional sacrifice, appeared in the *Missouri Gazette* of St. Louis.

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By 1820–1821 the story of the conduct of Knife Chief and his son Man Chief had come to the attention of Edwin James and Jedidiah Morse, and through them it became known. In the fall of 1821, when Man Chief went east to Washington with a delegation of chiefs, the detailed story of his bold rescue had been published, and the girls at "Miss White's Select Female Seminary" contributed enough money to have a large silver medal made which they presented to the handsome young Pawnee hero at a public ceremony. The medal bore the inscription "To the Bravest of the Brave." The medal was later excavated in an Indian grave near Fullerton, Nebraska, on the Loup River by Alonzo Thompson. It is illustrated in Hyde's book. The portrait of Man Chief was painted in Washington by Dr. King and later included in the McKenney and Hall volumes on Indian tribes. As Man Chief accepted the silver medal, he said that when he had done this thing he had not known it was brave. But now that they had called him brave and given him this medal, he thanked them and would always think of them. After the delegation left Washington, they continued on to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York and wherever they went they were greeted by large crowds and showered with gifts. Originally the delegation had left the Pawnee village in October 1821 under Major O'Fallon and was undertaken with the purpose of impressing the Pawnees with the power of the whites. A chief from each of the four bands had gone.

But despite these efforts, by May 1833 news of a plan to sacrifice a Cheyenne woman reached the Indian agent, John Dougherty at Bellevue, who took five men with him and rode out to the Skidi village. Chief Big Ax received him and promised to try to help him ransom the captive. The Chief called a council of the other chiefs and leading men and exhorted them to abandon their plan. The crowd in the village was hostile, but nevertheless the woman was brought into the chief's lodge. Big Ax was opposed by all the chiefs but one—Black Chief, of rather swarthy complexion. Finally Dougherty, seconded by a few friendly Pawnees, tried to ride through the angry crowd with the captive woman. The people had gathered in the narrow spaces between the earth lodges to try to block him, and, as he passed the lodge of a prominent brave named Soldier Chief, a priest who was standing in the vestibule drew his bow and shot the woman. The warriors took the dying woman out onto the prairie and carried out the sacrifice.

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In 1837 an American Fur Company boat came up the Missouri. Some of her crew were down with smallpox and, despite the captain's warning, the Mandan insisted on boarding. Of the 1,600 remaining Mandans, only 31 survived the ensuing epidemic. Meanwhile the Arikara who lived in a neighboring village in the same locality returned there from the summer hunt and they lost half of their population of 4,000. The Dakotas also contracted the disease. Now the Skidi priests insisted that the Morning

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Star must be placated. An Oglala Sioux girl of about fifteen whose name was Haxti was captured, and on April 22, 1838, she was sacrificed to the Morning Star.

This is the last reported case of a Pawnee sacrifice to the Morning Star. Grinnell and others feel that there must have been further incidents that did not come to attention. However, when our ethnological narrative takes place (1867) it seems pretty certain that no further sacrifices were being carried out. About two hundred Pawnees, many Skidis among them, were organized into four companies of regularly registered U.S. Cavalry in Major North's Batallion. As part of their activities, they protected the crews working on the Union Pacific Railroad from attack by the nomadic Indians. After an attack on Plum Creek on the Platte, the Pawnees followed the Cheyenne to their camp and there captured fifteen Cheyenne women and children. In the subsequent negotiations, they exchanged these captives for two white women, the Martin sisters, and three small white boys, captives of the Cheyenne camp on the Medicine Creek branch of the

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FIGURE 10-1. *Codex Porfirio Diaz* representing scaffold sacrifice; in National Museum, Mexico City, accredited to the Cuicatecan tribe of the State of Guerrero. From Clark Wissler and Herbert J. Spinden, "The Pawnee Sacrifice to the Morning Star," *American Museum Journal*, XVI (1916), No. 1, p. 54. See also illustrations on pages 52, 53, and 49 of the article.

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Republican River. It seems unlikely that the Pawnees carried on any further sacrifices of captives to the Morning Star after that time.

Aside from the obvious resemblances, there is some documentation of detailed Mexican analogies. Wissler and Spinden would place the time when a direct transfer through the Aztec could have occurred, between 1506 and 1519. In an article (1916) on the subject they give clear parallels in illustrations from the codices (see Figure 10-2).

Within the Pawnee system of theology, it certainly had an organic place.

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243 793 787 788 rooftops to see the priests get the young plant of the holy corn. The priests were wrapped in their buffalo robes with the hair side out and were rattling their gourds and singing. They felt it to be a long journey symbolically signifying the eons of the creation, and the song was sung to recapitulate all its stages—the stages that pertained to women (the land, the vegetation, the waters and the cultivated seeds), and the stages that pertained to men (the moccasin, its string, the robe, the power of the universe, Mother Corn, and the thunder). These stages of the men symbolized conception and birth—the moccasin, a pocket-like covering into which something is thrust; the moccasin cord, the umbilical cord; the robe, the enveloping membrane of the foetus; the creative power of the universe, the sacred nature of conception and birth; Mother Corn, germination; and the thunder, the fertilizing principle. The little corn plant they uprooted in the field would symbolize all these things.

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243 793 787 When they arrived at the sacred corn hill, they ranged themselves around it, the visionary to the west, the four semicardinal-directions priests in their appropriate stations. They again sang the steps of the creation as they sat in their places, and then the priests remained seated while the visionary rose and prepared to smoke his pipe with the powers above. He walked to the north side of the hill, where the errand man lighted his pipe, then proceeded around it, pausing to offer the mouthpiece to the powers in the order directed by the Evening Star priest before they had left the lodge. He offered it to Heaven, the Evening Star, the Morning Star, the Big Black Meteoric Star in the northeast, the North and Lucky Wind, a great legendary hero *Pahukatawa*, then southeast to the Sun and southwest to the Moon. Next he emptied the ashes on the corn hill and gave the pipe to the ranking priest. Then he sat down at the west and in counterclockwise order beginning at the northeast he pressed into the cornhill a gift of little pellets of buffalo-heart fat and tongue fat wrapped around with some tobacco. He alternated his offerings, beginning with tongue fat at the northeast and heart fat at the northwest, and so on.

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Now the most solemn part of the ceremony was to be enacted. They were to uproot the sacred corn sprout in a symbolic act of birth. The visionary stood at the west and instructed the Southwest (or Southeast) priest to ease the plant out of the ground very gently so that he would not disturb any part of the delicate roots. The roots symbolized the moccasin strings and the seeds, the moccasin or covering for power. The priest wrapped the "newborn" plant in buffalo wool and handed it to the visionary, who placed it on his back in his buffalo robe as a woman carries her child. Now they began again to sing the steps of the creation and lined up preparatory to returning to the ceremonial lodge. Everyone in the village was watching and listening as they sang on their way back.

793 243 In the lodge, the Evening Star priest unwrapped the plant from its

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were a second major problem. It is a well-known historical fact. that horses were introduced to this continent by the Spaniards in the early 1500's, and whatever use was made of them by American Indians had to develop after that time. Even though it was a considerable length of time, the Pawnee practices in connection with the use and care of horses were not as advanced as those of the Spaniards. As regards the buffalo hunt, at the time of our narrative horses were used in the chase when they were attacking the herd in a group and also to carry their food and camping equipment. The strategy of the mass attack upon the herd was to develop a "surround" by the mounted hunters who had been lined up behind a hill out of sight. No doubt they had previously used a similar technique on foot. As to carrying the food and equipment, a good deal of it was packed on the backs of the women and girls. However, the women had dogs who were trained to drag the tent poles behind them, the heavy ends of the poles tied to a harness on the dog's back. The tent poles were grouped into two sets, one on each side of the dog, and connected by two cross sticks toward the lower ends. Upon these a skin cover was wrapped where other luggage was placed. A dog could drag as much as 70 pounds. The custom of dog traction and extensive carrying on the back by the women was in full operation as late as 1837 when a famous painter, Alfred Jacob Miller, portrayed the Pawnees in this manner. After 1850, however, dogs were no longer used for this purpose, and it was mostly the men who kept them around so that the puppies could be sacrificed and eaten at a special ceremonial. Some, of course, were kept by the women as pets. By 1867, the horse had taken over the carrying function almost entirely except for a few poor single or old people who had to do some packing of their dried buffalo meat on the way home. The packing of the horse resembled that formerly used in connection with the dog; the horse travois or carrying frame was also the same as that of the dog. All the leather trappings for keeping the luggage in place had now to be carefully prepared before they left for the hunt.

The Pawnees were relatively poor in horses compared with other Plains tribes at this time. This may have been due to constant attacks by the Sioux and the other nomadic tribes, although this is not certain. At any rate while among the Blackfoot or the Kiowa twenty-five horses at least were considered an average number for a family on the move, Eagle Chief, who was head of the Skidi Band, had only ten, and a reasonably comfortable family like that of Victory Call had only four or five. Some families had only one or two horses and it was with great difficulty that they went on the hunt at all. Even in their war practices, the Pawnee retained some of their prehorse habits. It was well known that they set out on their war expeditions on foot and they were known to the Kiowa as "Walkers." The rationale given for this by students of the sub-

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Every available hunter would get a horse if he could and leave the line of march to go to the hunting grounds. Even if the horse were not fast, there were enough buffalo for everyone to hunt. In order to free as many horses as possible, the people were to combine and reload all their baggage, doubling up with their neighbors if necessary for the balance of the journey into camp. Man Chief and White Eagle, the first to be ready, rode off a little distance to await the others. The scout now rode all along the line telling all the hunters to get their horses and go where Man Chief and White Eagle were waiting to start.

As the scout turned back to rejoin the waiting chiefs, an old doctor of the Asking-for-Meat Band began to go among the people to perform a pantomime of sympathetic magic. He followed the path that the scout had taken and, impersonating a buffalo, he went in a trot with his arms flexed at his sides, chanting:

Now you are going to trot
Buffalo who are killed falling.

As he went among the people of each of the four bands, he sang his song each time. The children would try to trip him and make him fall down. When the boy Otter tried this, the old man asked, "Have you any tobacco to give me?" The boy shamefacedly answered no, but the old man fell down for him anyway.

Man Chief had appointed his prophet or "hand waver" who was to make the incantation to the powers as the hunters were poised ready to make the attack on the herd. Now this man was holding back, reluctant to ride out to the hunting grounds, worrying whether his luck would be good. Finally he joined the hunters, as they were in a hurry to get started. Then Man Chief called out, "Now we're going ahead!" and with White Eagle he started off a little ahead while the others followed in a bunch. They all galloped their horses as they hurried on. The scout went on ahead to guide them to the place. As soon as they got in sight, the head scout signaled with his blanket from the hill where he was stationed. If he threw his blanket up leisurely and caught it, there was no hurry, but if he threw it up and pulled it down quickly to his left, they had to hurry because the buffalo would be close and coming on.

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bands were busy restraining the hunters from anticipating the attack of the group. The herd was very widely scattered over the land and they were coming up from the river to graze. They could not manage the usual surround, so the hunters dashed ahead over and around the several hills that lay between them and the herd.

Meanwhile the line of march had been holding back, proceeding very slowly so that they would not interfere with the hunt itself. When the men had completed their attack on the herd, the encampment was set up in the angle of the confluence of Cedar Creek and the Solomon.

The hunt having been successful under the leadership of Chief Many Trophies, an old priest of the Downstream Band came walking through the camps. He represented the tradition of the sacred bundle under whose auspices the hunt had been conducted. He wore a war bonnet with feathers all around his head, possibly symbolizing a comet, and around his waist a buffalo robe that hung down about his legs. In his right hand he held the sacred pipe and over his left arm he was carrying some breast meat and some fat. All along the way men and boys from the four bands were trailing after him.

When he stopped at the west of the encampment, everyone lined up. He placed the pipe against the meat and fat, then raised the latter up toward the west four times in offering. Just as he was about to put the meat and fat on the ground, the whole crowd pounced on it and tried to grab a piece of meat and fat to bless their homes. They grabbed from one another on all sides, with the little boys scampering out of the way for fear of getting hurt. The old man, meanwhile, picked up his pipe and went north around the camp to his own tent. The other two South Bands also had their special band bundles, the Asking-for-Meat Band had a very sacred Ant bundle, and the Little-Earth-Lodge Band, a Raccoon bundle.

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THE CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCE OF THE HARVEST

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Holy Significance of the Mother Corn—Pawnee Logic of the Universe—Three Harvest Ceremonies—Green Corn Ceremony—Mature Corn Ceremony—Four-Pole Ceremony—Ceremonial Rituals Explained—Symbolic Significance

243 778 To THE PAWNEE, the ear of corn was his daily food and also the object of his most profound reverence and worship. In every sacred bundle that represented the cosmic powers there were two ears of corn of an ancient breed, cultivated exclusively for its role as a holy object—their Mother [126] Corn. The leader of a war party that went afoot far out onto the Plains to capture horses and booty wore an ear of sacred corn on his left shoulder so that Mother Corn might guide them to victory. It was an ear that had served in a sacred bundle for one year from harvest to harvest. The calumet expedition for peace and trade with another tribe, besides the two symbolic eagle-feathered pipes, carried an ear of sacred corn representing the universe. It was painted blue around its bottom half with four blue lines leading up toward the point representing the semicardinal-direction pathways of prayer to Heaven, while on the point of the corn stood a single white feather to represent Heaven itself.

Each sacred ear of corn in the sacred bundle was sewn into a skin cover: the ear for winter in a tanned buffalo skin, and that for summer in a heart skin. At every meal the wife or sister of the chief in whose care 243 778 the bundle was kept addressed each ear of corn by its own name to give • 782 thanks for the food they were about to enjoy. If it were buffalo meat they were having, she would point some of it toward the sacred bundle hanging at the west in order to give Mother Corn the first portion. When they ate corn it was of course not offered to her but the bowl of the spoon

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was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo might eat.

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic. The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household, the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity, Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-Pole Ceremony*—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial symbolism, and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant "ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance.

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Evening Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four

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243 778 793 priests of the four direction bundles. They were representing the four aspects of the primordial storm given by Heaven to the Evening Star to assist her in the process of creation. The Evening Star priest also invited a number of noted warriors and old men and had a quantity of green corn cooked for their feast. The sacred bundle was opened and its pipe [796] smoked and shared with the Evening Star and the other great western [782] powers by pointing its mouthpiece toward the west and then in the same way with the other celestial gods who took part in the ongoing of the universe. The contents of the sacred bundle were passed through an incense of burning sweet grass smoke, and an offering of the corn was [574] made to the gods. Then the invited guests had their feast of green corn. After the Evening Star bundle had completed its ritual, all other sacred bundles followed suit, offering green corn to the bundles and having a corn feast.

243 778 796 The main harvest ceremony which centered around the Mature Corn was a continuation of the symbolic theme of the life cycle of Mother Corn carried by the four semicardinal-direction bundles. Its connection with the progression of the seasons was also part of the ritual pattern.

[793] In the spring, after the Evening Star priest had performed the creation ritual for the renewal of all things, the four direction priests began their ritual cycle in anticipation of the planting time by a ceremonial distribution of the seeds of the sacred corn to the twelve owners of the sacred bundles whose wives planted them in special hills in the fields. Pursuing the theme of seasonal succession, the four sacred bundles of the group took charge of their ritual in turn. For the winter season, a North bundle was in charge. At the ceremony when the sacred seeds were distributed, the North bundle gave over its sacred mission to one of the South bundles of the group. A number of cornstalks symbolized this transfer of power, and these were now handed from the North to the South bundle. After the ground-breaking ceremony which belonged to a different cult (Skull bundle—Evening Star), the second ceremony of the Four Direction series concerning the Mother Corn was carried out. In this case the birth, infancy, and adolescence of Mother Corn were symbolized by uprooting the new little shoots of the sacred corn plants and providing one of them with a shaft on which a mouth and windpipe were painted to represent its life. The Young Mother Corn had carried them through the summer attached to the outside of the sacred bundle. Now the maturing Mother Corn had attained her full power to look after the people. The ceremony of the Mature Corn represented her installation to this office. It was also the occasion when the four-direction-bundle group shifted the ceremonial prerogative from the South bundle to the North bundle for the forthcoming winter. Some of the cornstalks of the sacred corn from the current harvest were given to this bundle to signify its mission. In addition to the principle of the succession of winter and sum-

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mer seasons followed by the four-direction-bundle group, another principle of alternation of powers was carried through as a means of assuring complete cosmic protection. This was the alternation of the powers of the western and of the eastern skies in successive years. There was, therefore, a fourfold alternation of bundles in the four-direction-bundle group over a cycle of two years: North*west*-South*west* in one year, and North*east*-South*east* in the subsequent year. The west and east each dominated a year, while north and south moved in half-year seasonal cycles for winter and summer.

As they were returning from the summer buffalo hunt when they had gotten about half way home, the priest of the summer direction bundle had sent a young man to the sacred corn hill to make an offering to it of buffalo tongue and heart meat. He pressed alternately into the corn hill a strip of tongue and a strip of heart in the four semicardinal directions.

Now with the harvest in, the priest asked his wife to clear out their earth lodge so that the ceremony for the Mature Mother Corn could be held. The women removed all the beds and other furniture and swept it out well, and the priest took down the sacred bundle from where it had been hanging at the west and placed it on the altar. Before dawn he sent four men to the sacred corn hill in the fields to bring in four stalks of the holy corn with the ears still on them. In the course of the ceremony, these would replace the old Mother Corn ears in the sacred bundles. In this way the sacred bundles always contained some fertile seeds.

The priest now invited a number of other people to participate. He called the other four high priests—his three colleagues of the four-direction-bundle group and the Evening Star p[illegible]. He also called in the holy man who had taken office when the sacred [illegible]ds were distributed in the spring and who had lived under seve[illegible]oos from which he would only now be released. All summer while they were on the march, this holy man had been living under the watchful eye of the priest. Also invited was the young woman who had contributed milk from her breasts at the ceremony of the Young Corn Plant in order to symbolize conception and the other owners of the sacred bundles.

When everyone was assembled, all went down to the camps where the women had piled their mature corn and other crops. The priest announced that Mother Corn was about to be installed and asked them to bring their harvest offerings. They came with their best ears of corn, and as the women entered the ceremonial lodge they put the corn on the north side in piles according to the color. Any of the ears that had the male spike at the tip, a feature that was regularly found in the holy corn, might be included in the sacred bundle in the course of the ceremony that was to follow. The women also brought beans and squash for the

harvest offering. Then the women left the lodge and the ceremony was carried on entirely by the men. Now a man was sent to the sacred corn hill to uproot any stalks that remained there with the ears still on them. They were tied to the northwest post of the lodge, which symbolized the Garden of the Gods. When the new winter direction priest was installed at the end of the proceedings, he would receive these as a sign of his office.

The priest was now ready to conduct the ceremony. He sat at the west with his bundle open before him. He put aside the stick with the Young Mother Corn Plant tied to it that they had made in the spring and the two sacred ears in their respective wrappings. He also had before him the four new sacred ears that were brought in that morning. The new sacred ears had been cut with the first section of the stem left on to symbolize the windpipe and the voice of the Mother Corn which was the "breath of life." After singing four songs mentioning the different colors, black, red, yellow, and white for the semicardinal directions, he sang a fifth song and cut off the stem. Then he sang another song welcoming the new Mother Corn. He embraced the new ear, passing it to the other priests who were sitting to the south and to the north of him, and then passed it down the south side and then the north of the lodge, everyone in turn embracing the new Mother Corn. When the ear was returned to the priest, he sang a seventh song stating that the voice of the corn was raised to the heavens.

At the close of the songs, the pipe was filled and the mouthpiece pointed toward Mother Corn as an offering to share in the smoking. Then the ear was passed to the people on each side of the lodge and each person blew his breath on it four times, symbolizing its new life in the world.

The next symbolic act was to concentrate all the power in the world into Mother Corn herself. The priest took a buffalo-hair rope about a yard long from his sacred bundle. It was said to have been made of "hair from beneath the waters." Taking one of the new Mother Corn ears in each hand, he knelt before the altar holding the ends of the rope against the ears. Then moving his hands, he made the rope circle around into a loop to represent the horizon as it had circled out from the gods in the west during the original creation. He now made movements as if he were throwing the rope over objects and drawing them to his breast. This was spoken of as "trapping the powers of the Heavens" for Mother Corn and all the sacred objects.

The ears of sacred corn whose "lives had been ended" were now given over to a distinguished warrior, who would carry them on the warpath to guide him to success, or to the entrepreneur of the Peace Pipe Ceremony, who would carry them on his expedition to give him success in trade and international relations.

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With the installation of the New Mother Corn accomplished, steps were taken to shift the cosmic power to the North Direction bundle for the winter. The priest announced that the change was at hand, went to the northwest house post, and took down the sacred stalks that were tied there, giving them to the chief who was in charge of the newly appointed North Direction bundle. He addressed the chief briefly upon the import of the procedure and formally charged him with the office. The new chief replaced the stalks on the post and then divided the harvest offerings that the women had brought among the chiefs and priests present at the ceremony.

Following this ceremony, all the sacred bundles changed their ears of Mother Corn for those of the new harvest. This ceremony was conducted very simply in each case, the usual smoke and meat offerings being made to the appropriate powers and a feast shared. In all the sacred bundles the pipe was turned so that when the bundle hung on the west wall of the house over the altar the mouthpiece of the pipe would be pointing north, so that the winter powers located in that direction could smoke.

The Pawnee year opened in the spring with a ceremony celebrating the creation of the universe and within it the uniting of all the people under one religion and society. Now as the harvest was done, a closing ceremony commemorated their unity and the common defense of their land. The four house posts in the semicardinal positions symbolized the entire world and its peoples. It was under the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person and its four special ministers.

The setting for the ceremony was a special circular structure—a low circular embankment opening to the east. First the priests marked out the circle with a compass consisting of two sticks with a long string between; they also marked out the fireplace in the center in the same way. The fireplace was 3 feet in diameter and the excavated earth from it was dumped outside the east entrance to form a small mound. They dug four holes about a foot deep in the semicardinal positions within the circle to receive the posts that would be planted later on. All around the inside of the circular embankment saplings were set up in the ground, forming a screen that shaded the participants as they sat around during the ceremony. The chiefs who were the owners of the sacred bundles sat along the north and along the south side of the circle, each representing one of the villages that was a member of the original federation. Most of them sat on the north side, as the original villages were mainly on the Loup River, only one having come from the Platte to the south. At the west sat the keepers of the four direction bundles as they had originally come from Old Village in the west.

The ceremony itself comprised two major episodes. One was the getting of the four poles, a war party setting out in a different direction for

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796 each one. The second part of the ceremony consisted in the recitation by a chief of certain events in the creation ritual that represented the essential nature of the world.

In the first episode, the four war parties went out for the poles. When everyone was assembled, four warriors took positions at the semicardinal [292] places. Each was dressed in full regalia. He wore an otter fur collar, a sacred ear of corn on the left shoulder, and a hawkskin on the right shoulder. On the head, each wore a ball of white down feathers and, transversely in the scalplock, an eagle feather. Each element of their costume had a symbolic meaning—the otter collar, awakening of life in the spring; the ear of corn, Mother Corn to guide them over the world; the hawk, to symbolize strength and fierceness; the eagle feather in the scalplock, Heaven during the creation; the white downy feathers, the clouds [302] on which he rode. Their faces were painted with red streaks along the sides and a bird's-foot mark on their foreheads which was also the name of a constellation in the Milky Way. Each warrior carried a war club and a pipe from one of the leading sacred bundles.

While the warriors were being costumed, four scouts had gone in four different directions to locate the trees for the posts. The White Pole [824] was located in the southwest direction and was a cottonwood. The Yellow Pole was found in the northwest and was a willow. The Red Pole of the southeast was a box elder, and the Black Pole of the northeast, an elm. The warriors came outside the enclosure and danced in their appropriate positions and a group of people gathered around each of them. The warriors now led their parties in their different directions and were met by their respective scouts who reported that they had located an enemy standing among the timber. Each warrior now led his party as if stealing upon an enemy. When the tree was sighted, they rushed in and the first man to reach the tree acted as if he were touching an enemy in battle, meriting a special war honor.

[782] Standing at the east, the warrior made a smoke offering to the tree. Then he carried the smoked-out pipe to the west where he deposited the ashes. Then another man, in similar fashion, made an offering of buffalo meat. Then a virgin took up her ax and symbolically cut down the tree. She motioned four times in each of the four directions, cutting off a chip in each. The tree was then actually cut down by her uncles and brothers amid the shouts of the people. As the tree fell they made as much noise as possible.

Now the warriors took up the tree and started toward the village, the [831] crowd following. On the way in they stopped to rest at four different intervals when they were beset by old women who encircled them making suggestive remarks referring to sexual intercourse and speaking of sexual acts as deeds of war. None of these remarks were personal. When the party tried to bring the pole into the enclosure, someone blocked

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their way and touched the tree as if it were an enemy, claiming war honors and stating that they were entering the territory of the enemy. Then they brought it inside. 796

While the war parties were out, the priests had prepared the postholes. In each they placed a cake of buffalo fat sprinkled with some tobacco, the fat representing the earth and the tobacco the people. A similar cake of fat sprinkled with tobacco was placed in the center of the fireplace. These cakes were then taken outside and buried under the little mound outside to the east of the enclosure.

As each war party came in with its pole, the priest of that semicardinal-direction bundle offered it the pipe to smoke and sang the song ritual while the warrior danced four times and planted the tree in the posthole. All the branches had been trimmed from the posts except the very top ones. The priests sang songs referring to the appropriate colors connected with the semicardinal directions and each post was painted its proper color. [782] [533]

The next phase of the ceremony was considered its most vital part. The chief who was keeper of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person now recited certain acts of the creation by Heaven. The skull, fastened to a stick, was costumed to represent Heaven as in the first episode of the ground-breaking (*awari*), ceremony in the spring. The paraphernalia for decorating the skull, including the paints, was kept inside the bundle in a bladder bag when not in use. 796 798

Another symbolic object was a wooden bowl filled with water to represent a primordial pond or the waters in general. In the water was a shell to represent running water and the continuity of life. On the shell was placed the jaw of a gar pike, the head of a (thunder?) bird and the image of a turtle, all symbolizing the denizens of the water and the rains. The skull rested to the west, and to the east of it the bowl of water with the objects connected by a framework of sticks on which the turtle was placed with a clamshell over his middle. There were four smooth stones that were either meteorites or buffalo maw stones which came from the sacred bundle of the former Village Partly-on-a-Hill. The turtle and the shell were from the Southwest Direction bundle. The four smooth stones stood for the four quarters of the world.

The chief who had charge of the Skull bundle now stood up with the skull in his hands and, facing the bowl, recited the acts of the creation that had been performed by Heaven. The main part of the ceremony was now complete.

During the following night there were additional dramatic acts. Certain doctors appeared dressed in the skins of bears, loons, wildcats, and wolves, each connected with one of the four semicardinal directions. During the creation, as the Morning Star went out to conquer the Evening Star, he had to overcome each of these primordial animals who were 796 [756]

everything on their way south for the coming winter. I have sent men out to see about willows for our booths. They report that there are good trees for us. I wanted you to know that in a few days we are going to start to set up the lodge. Now the leaves are turning yellow and they are falling. This is the way the year goes round and that's why I wanted to tell you so that you can get ready. In two or three days you can come up here and get the wood to build your booths. Meanwhile you must fix up your paraphernalia, your whistles, and anything else you will need. I don't want to take up too much time talking this evening, as we have a great deal to do."

Now he instructed the errand men to go to two of the men who had pledged meat and to bring it to the lodge. They went, carrying a piece of tent skin between them, and when they got to the lodges the meat was removed from the parfleches and placed on the skin, then carried by the errand men to the ceremonial lodge where it was set down near the southeast pillar. Now Sitting Hawk stated how their account stood. He said, "We used half a parfleche of meat cleaning up the lodge the first time, then the rest of the parfleche when we did the second cleaning. Now with these two, three parfleches will be used up."

Now the first song was begun and men, women, and children crowded in around the outside doorway to listen. They would say, "Oh, I like a good song." "Oh, I wish I could sing that song." A woman would remark, "I wonder when they'll put in the booths. I'd like to see the Bear." Inside the singing and dancing continued. The men were not costumed but simply painted, as this was a practice dance.

After the first round of singing, the spectators were told they had to leave. Big Doctor said, "It's all over." This was because they were now going to make their ceremonial smoke offerings to the powers and outsiders could not be permitted to witness this. Some doctors refrained from singing in the first round altogether because they wanted to keep their songs from the public.

At the west were sitting the four leading doctors with their wives sitting directly behind them. On each side, along the north and south, the rest of the doctors were ranged. At the east ends on each side were eight chiefs, two from each of the four villages, viz., at the southeast, two from Village-across-a-Ridge and two from Pumpkin-Vine, and at the northeast, two chiefs from Bottomlands Village and two from Wolf-in-Water. Beyond these at the southeast were the old men, and an errand man at each side.

In the interim between the first and second round of singing, one of the eight chiefs got up and spoke on behalf of all of them. The doctors on their part spoke and said, "The echo of the drum drives back sickness when it comes."

The singing alternated between the sides, first on the north and then

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on the south. When they had gone halfway down the line, Big Doctor appointed someone to get up and cut the meat into portions while the errand man put up the water to boil. As the singing continued, the errand man finally announced that the meat was all cooked and a spread was laid down east of the fireplace and 43 portions were set out for the singers. It was midnight or later when the singing was over and the four drums and a number of gourd rattles were brought back to Big Doctor. He made a brief speech: "Now in three days we are going to get the wood for our booths. We must look to the future and make our plans. Now we are going to eat." Then he appointed two men for each side to do the serving of the meat. One portion was sent to the house where Sitting Hawk's wife was staying, "for the lodge." Before they could eat, an offering of meat and fat was made to the spirits in the significant directions of the universe. When the offering was completed, all said, "Nawa."

One more matter had to be attended to before the meat could finally be served. The meat was arranged on the spread according to where the people were sitting, and a stick was placed in the middle to act as a divider between the north and south halves. The pieces of meat were of two different sizes, some particularly large and some of ordinary proportions. Big Doctor asked Sitting Hawk to see that the special portions were placed in position so that they would be properly assigned. There were to be special portions for the four doctors at the west and their wives, for the eight chiefs, the two errand men, one each for the person sitting at the north on behalf of the North Star and at the south on behalf of the South Star, and for the four men who had been specially appointed to do the serving. Three or four extra pieces were set aside for possible mistakes in the count; if no mistakes had been made, these extra portions were placed on top of those that had already been set out for the chiefs. The smaller-size pieces were set out for the rest of the people. The meat was passed out in formal order and then the soup, in the same way. The feast this time consisted of meat and soup only.

By now it was extremely late and Big Doctor made some very brief closing remarks. He said, "Now we know what we have to do (viz., come back in three days and get wood for the booths). Now we have eaten. Now we can go." All got up and went home. It would take six or seven days more before the dance preparations were complete.

The next stage in their preparations was the building of the booths and other structures in the ceremonial lodge. As announced, this would be three days after the practice sing. On the appointed morning before daybreak, Big Doctor told the errand men to go to certain specified lodges and get four parfleches of dried buffalo meat that had been pledged so that they could have their feast that evening. The four donors had already been alerted at the previous meeting.

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The doctors came in very early wearing only their moccasins and a loin cloth and carrying an ax. Before sunrise they were to go into the woods and get six cottonwood trees and a quantity of willow saplings to build up the booths. The cottonwood trees were symbolic of the beaver, and the trees were cut down with an involved ceremonial procedure. When the doctors had all assembled, Big Doctor, dressed in his buffalo robe with the hair side out and carrying an eagle-wing fan and a gourd rattle, said, "Now get ready!" They sang four songs, four rounds each, and then Big Doctor appointed Sitting Hawk to lead the men into the timber. He also wore a buffalo robe with the hair side out and carried an eagle-wing fan, gourd rattle, and a pipe that had been filled with tobacco by Good Pipe so that he could perform the ceremony when they cut down the first cottonwood. Pipe Offering instructed him: "Go by the east agency road. Before you get across Beaver Creek, all along the north side, you will find good willows and cottonwoods and also some very small thin willows. Cut a good many of those. Now go!"

They all filed out behind Sitting Hawk, and when they got to the timber they found a good cottonwood and sat down around it to perform the ceremony. Sitting Hawk, who was seated at the west, pointed the unlit pipe toward the tree—first toward the top, then the middle, and then the bottom. Now he moved to the north side, again offering the unlit pipe to the top, the middle, and the bottom of the tree and so similarly at the east and at the south. The next step was an offering of the smoke from the lit pipe in the same manner. Squatting at the northeast of the tree he lit the pipe with a flint and proceeded by north to west where he directed puffs of smoke to the top, middle, and bottom of the tree and then at the other stations as before. After the pipe was smoked out, he made the same offering with the ashes, rubbing first his right hand along the stem up toward the top of the tree, then his left hand, then the same to the middle, sitting at each of the four cardinal directions—west, north, east, and south. He now handed the pipe to the man at his right (south) and instructed him to find a cottonwood just like the one before them and to treat it ceremonially in the same way. These two cottonwoods were to stand near the western end of the lodge on both sides (north and south). He now instructed Bringing Horses to take his men and get two more cottonwoods, one to stand in the north position and one to the south as representatives of the beaver. (The ceremony was performed only for the two cottonwoods that would stand at the west.)

Finally, two other men were sent to get two cottonwoods that would stand one on each side of the lodge near the east. These men simply cut down the trees and sharpened them at the stub end so that they could be stood up in their appropriate positions in the lodge. Meanwhile, Sitting Hawk went on with his ceremony for the two trees that were to

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Big Doctor prepared to receive them and the tree on behalf of the Doctor Lodge. At his signal they came inside carrying the tree, stub end forward, and walked around the fireplace four times through south, west, north, and east where they stopped and placed the tree with its stub end touching the rim of the fireplace and its head end pointing toward the entrance at the east.

Pipe Offering made the offering of tobacco, smoke, and ashes with the sacred pipe to the three vital parts of the tree—the base, the middle, and the top as they had previously done with the cottonwoods. Meanwhile the errand men were sent outside to start to boil the dried buffalo meat for their feast.

All this time the other doctors had remained inside their respective booths, only the officials of the Doctor Lodge conducting the smoke offering ceremony. These included the four doctors at the west, one doctor each at the north and at the south, one old man (*kurahus*) each, at the northeast and the southeast, and the two errand men, one on each side of the entrance way.

Now that the cedar tree had been brought into the lodge and received, it was time for all of them to eat. The doctors all came out of their booths and sat right down on the serpent as there was no other place to sit between the booths and the fireplace. Three buckets of boiled corn kernels had been donated and these constituted the first course of their banquet. As always, they had to share the food with the supernatural powers before it could be eaten by the people, and the serving followed an order that was determined by the particular powers they had called on for the occasion. After eating, the ceremony to stand the cedar in its place was performed and then anyone who wanted to could go home.

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skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiubats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears, without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celestial ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time. Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and "fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive "fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also appears in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cultivated gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea-

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411 17 mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the 1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they 412 177 [072] [01] had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-shaped, bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological circles as Harahey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people was "Big Knife."

17 412 324 Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls, axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrow-shafts and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sandstone buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was [316] [439] pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from southwest Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of Pipestone.

463 Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to reveal their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

796 463 322 The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic terms.

463 784 796 171 Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins 531 was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older 782 porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted

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time or not up to technical standards, or if the person failed to remain even-tempered during the work, direct consequences to the health and well-being of the craftswoman and her family would inevitably follow. The guild was in the charge of a woman who made sure that these conditions were met. The woman who supervised the fitting of the skins to make the tent—the tent architect—also belonged to a religious guild of a similar sort. The conventional character of Pawnee technical processes was just as firmly established as among these other peoples, most of them going back to very old practices, and their work was as fine and as precisely done but there were no religious connotations of any kind.

The mature women did most of the craft work that pertained to the domestic economy. The men made most of the things they used in hunting, war, and ceremonials. The crafts were not taught to the young people as a normal part of their education. A young man or a young woman had to be very eager to learn and only if an older person was willing to sponsor them were they able to do so. The teacher had to receive ample payment as well as a clear indication of a very real desire to learn. Both for the manufacture of a craft object and for teaching as well as other kinds of assistance, "payment" should provide the craftsman with "something to wear and something with which to feed the family." This consisted in skin clothing or commercial cloth, blankets or shawls, and the standard food stuffs, either native or trade.

The following is my informant's account of the circumstances of learning the craft of making a black rope of braided buffalo hair:

> If a woman wanted to learn how to make a buffalo hair belt from Old Lady Lucky Leader, for example, one would go to her and put a necklace about her neck, and ask to be taught. She would certainly not consent at once. She might answer, "Some day I will teach you." This signified that if the applicant went quietly away and asked again another day, then repeated her request on subsequent occasions, she might finally give in. If she said, "I'll think about it," this meant she might capitulate if asked again. On the other hand, if she said, "I can't do it," this constituted an absolute refusal.
>
> There were situations in which she would feel impelled to grant the request. This was particularly the case if the woman were a close and respected relative, especially an in-law. On the other hand, she might also feel impelled to teach a woman whose family fortunes were low and who needed to earn something to help out. Such a woman was the wife of Chief's-Road. Giving the old lady a gift she said, "I want you to take pity on me and teach me to make a buffalo hair belt. You know that I am poor and we can't seem to work out anything. What I want is for you to take pity on me so that it may earn something for us. My husband can't make much and my sister can't do anything."

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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through its four elements, clouds, winds, lightning and thunder, is personified into a single gigantic personality, Paruksti, who makes a tour of the newly created world for the gods, his footsteps being carefully noted in the most minute detail." In Thompson, p. 171, the world is created in terms of a personified First Day who makes an extensive journey afoot over the land.

81, 127

Toothed vagina "like the mouth of a rattlesnake," Dorsey, 1906, p. 41. See Bogoras, 1902, p. 667, for wider distribution of this theme.

83

Buckstaff, 1927, is well illustrated with diagrams and a photograph of the Pawnee Star Chart in the Chicago Museum. He states (p. 285): "The Indians recognized the constellations as we do, also the important stars, drawing them according to their magnitude." Double stars were also shown as well as constellations. Astronomical analysis is included in the article.

83, 152, 154-155

On the sacrifice of Haxti, the Oglala Sioux girl, see de Smet, 1905, pp. 974-987; Thwaites, Vol. 27, pp. 209-210; George E. Hyde, 1951, p. 164, based largely on Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, Vol. V, p. 77, footnote, also Vol. IV, p. 50. See also, Von Hagen, 1958, p. 98, where it is noted that after the seventeenth month, "they repaired to Cuauhtitlan, where the prisoners of war were lashed to scaffolds, after the manner of the Pawnee of the western plains and killed with arrows." Note Grinnell's, 1925, pp. 363-369, description of such a prisoner sacrifice. Wissler and Spinden, 1916, p. 54, show one of the drawings in the *Codex Porfirio Diaz* representing scaffold sacrifice, the manuscript preserved in the National Museum of Mexico City and attributed to the Cuicatecan tribe of the State of Guerrero. They estimate that the time must have been between 1506 and 1519—1506 when it appears in the Aztec codices for the first time and 1519 when the arrival of the Spaniards 'cut off abruptly the ancient religious rites of the Mexicans . . .' (p. 55). See Irving's, 1955, pp. 184-188, account of sacrifice of a Cheyenne woman captive, especially the annotated footnotes.

84, 111, 117, 319, 330

Murie-Wissler manuscript, pp. 442-428, claims that after the new corn plant (*kurahus*, priest) was gathered in the spring, a new-fire ceremony was held and that the people let their fire die out and cleared out the ashes. The people are said to have gone off to a place where they made a new fire ceremony (p. 431). They state it was connected with a scalp ritual. I have no record of such a ceremony.

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The only explanation of the use of loon necks and deer heads as hoeing implements in the *Awari* or Ground-breaking ceremony is possibly the statement of Will and Hyde, 1917, p. 269, that

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

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An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

756 273

See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

796 241 [574] [782] [184] [752] [726]

The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

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On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat*, we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote*," snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

372 482 280, 290

Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads would equal one cord of wood. Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

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727 305

Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home